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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XVI Part I 1933

THE NUER: TRIBE AND CLAN.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

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NOTE.—*Clans and clan lineages are printed in capitals to distinguish them from tribes and tribal sections.*

I.

114 THIS paper is based on a report read before the British Association in August, 1931. Some sections of the original paper have, however, been enlarged, while others have been deleted. Part of my data has been recorded in Prof. and Mrs. Seligman's book, *The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. It deliberately omits more than the briefest reference

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114 [120] to many processes of Nuer social life, in particular their economic life, the life of family and kin, their ritual, and their age-sets. It attempts to define the form and functions of larger groups than family or kin, namely, the clan, the tribe, and the nation. I have, consequently, used my data in a preliminary manner and for illustrative purposes rather than tried to present a final and detailed account.

Nothing but the briefest notes on Nuer customs existed before Jackson wrote his account of their life in *Sudan Notes and Records* in 1923 and very little has since been added to the facts which he collected. In spite of serious handicaps Jackson wrote an excellent general survey of Nuer social organisation. It is with a full appreciation of his pioneer work that I write this paper to supplement and, I hope, in some particulars, to clarify his account. It is largely due to the complexity of the facts that Jackson's account of them is sometimes unintelligible, but confusion has also arisen from his hazy notions about ethnological terms. To-day several of us are trying to follow the route mapped out by Jackson and to explore new territory, and it will greatly facilitate collation of our researches if we all use the same terms to describe the same features of Nuer social organisation. Special attention has, therefore, been devoted to terminology, since nothing but muddle can result from use of native words like *cieng*, which symbolises a number of different social groups, for though it is generally clear from the context about which group a Nuer is speaking the same clarity cannot be carried into a sociological account. In such a situation it is inevitable that one should abandon native terminology and use English symbols instead. I believe that this usage will not only make for scientific accuracy, but will also facilitate administration.

I do not regard my work among the Nuer as finished, and I hope to complete it when circumstances are more favourable. I spent three and a half months in Nuer country in 1930 and five months in 1931. From the point of view of an anthropological field worker whose time is limited the conditions of work were depressing. The whole of my first trip and a large part of my second trip were occupied with an attempt to master the language sufficiently to make enquiries through it. Only those who have tried to learn a difficult language without the aid of

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a single interpreter and without adequate grammar or dictionary[1] will fully understand the limitations which these conditions impose upon research. The Nuer would at any time have been a difficult job to tackle and the task was undoubtedly rendered more difficult by events of preceding years which had led to warfare with the Government and military control with consequent disillusionment and resentment. What work I was able to accomplish was made possible by the encouragement and assistance of Mr. A. G. Pawson, Governor of the Upper Nile Province, and Capts. A. H. A. Alban and H. A. Romilly and Mr. J. F. Tierney, and I wish to make special acknowledgment to the staff of the American Mission at Nasser who gave me hospitality and generously placed their time and knowledge at my disposal. Their co-operation was invaluable. I was mainly resident among the Lou Nuer to the east of the Nile, but I also visited the Lek Nuer on the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Jekany who stretch westwards along the Sobat from the frontiers of Abyssinia. I have seen the Nuer of these regions during the dry season and the commencement of the rains but have not stayed among them during the rainy season. I was also restricted to a few cattle camps owing to lack of transport, so that spacially my acquaintance with the Nuer was confined to a very small area as temporally it was confined to a single

[1] At the time two long Nuer-English vocabularies existed, *A Nuer-English Vocabulary*, compiled by the late C. H. Stigand, Cambridge University Press, 1923, and *Nuer-English Dictionary*, by Ray Huffman, Dietrich Riemer, Berlin, 1929. Since my return from Nuerland Miss Huffman has published an English-Nuer vocabulary (*English-Nuer Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. 1931.) An earlier, but smaller, English-Nuer vocabulary has been compiled by Prof. Diedrich Westermann, and his account of Nuer phonetics and grammar are still all we possess on these subjects. It includes a number of native texts. ("The Nuer Language," by Diedrich Westermann. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*. Berlin, 1911, pp. 84–141.) The oldest lists of words are those compiled by Brun-Rollet ("Vocabularien der Dinka-, Nuehr- und Schilluk-Sprachen." *Petermn. Mitt.*, 1861) and by Marno (Kleine Vocabularien der Fungi-, Tabi, Bertat-und Nuehr-Sprache." *Reisen im Gebeite des blauen und weissen Nil*. Wien, 1874.)

The following accounts of Nuer customs exist: Major C. H. Stigand, "Warrior Classes of the Nuers," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918, pp. 116–118. Major C. H. Stigand, "The Story of Kir and the White Spear," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. II, 1919, pp. 224–226. Capt. V. H. Fergusson, "The Nuong Nuer," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IV, 1921, pp. 146–155). H. C. Jackson, "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VI, 1923, pp. 59–107 and 123–189. P. Coriat, "The Gawcir Nuer"—terminal essay in Jackson's combined account of *The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province* (his two papers in *Sudan Notes and Records*), El Hadara Printing Press, Khartoum, no date. Capt. V. H. Fergusson, "Nuer Beast Tales," *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VII, 1924, pp. 105–111. Ray Huffman, *Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore*, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 105. Pater Crazzolara, "Die Gar-Zeremonie bei den Nuer," *Africa*, Vol. V, 1932, pp. 28–39. Miss Soule, *Some Nuer Terms in Relation to the Human Body*, Book I, Parts 1 and 2, the American Mission, Nasser, Sudan, October, 1931.

As far as I am aware this list, together with reports by a number of early travellers, completes the literature on the Nuer.

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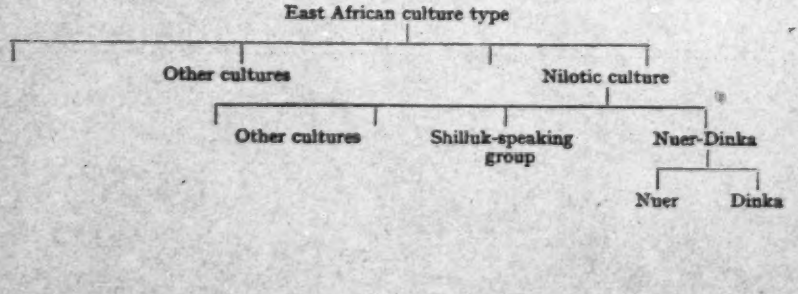
12/ season of the year. Illness prevented a final visit to Lek country in the early part of the rains. I mention these facts because it is essential that conditions of research should be understood if its results are to be rightly evaluated. In a final account I shall describe more fully the methods of research which I employed to meet these conditions.

[161] 105 The population of the Nuer to the east of the Nile is given by Jackson as about 320,000, and an estimate made in 1928 puts their total population on both sides of the Nile at 430,000. They form a homogeneous nation. All are pastoralists, though they make keen use of what opportunities their unruly climate allows them to cultivate the soil, and they are tireless in pursuit of game and fish. With slight regional differences their material culture is everywhere the same. Everywhere one sees the same kind of cattle byres and huts, milking vessels and other technical necessities of stock-raising, household utensils and ornaments, etc. Dialectical differences in their language are slight throughout the entire area, and in spite of local variation there is a common mythology and ritual. Likewise there are no appreciable differences in social organisation in the different countries of Nuerland. The Nuer, therefore, may be spoken of as a homogeneous nation which, with the Dinka nation, form a sub-group of the larger Nilotic conglomerate.

101 The Nuer belong to an East African culture type, the limits of which are at present ill defined both geographically and in terms of culture. Within this heterogeneous complex they form in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan a unit of related cultures with the Shilluk (including the Anuak, Bor, and other peoples which speak dialects of the Shilluk tongue) and Dinka nations of the Nile valley. Shilluk culture is so divergent from the other two that we may speak of Nuer-Dinka culture in contrast to it. Thus we may construct the following diagram:—

DIAGRAM No. 1.



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Nuer[1] and Dinka customs and languages are far too similar for any doubt to arise about their common origin, but in the present state of our knowledge even a tentative reconstruction of their historical relations with each other which led to the formation of two distinct cultures is out of the question. Our knowledge of neither is adequate, and probably never will be adequate, to solve historical problems of this kind. Moreover, it is not yet certain whether the many Dinka tribes differ from each other sufficiently for some of them to approach the Nuer in their culture more closely than they approach other members of their own conglomerate, though, personally, I hold this to be highly improbable. The Atwot are a peculiar case, for they speak a dialect of Nuer but are alleged to approximate more closely to some of the Dinka tribes in other elements of their culture. On the other hand, the Jekany tribes, who to-day have a typically Nuer culture, appear to be of Dinka origin. Even were we in possession of more knowledge about both nations we should still have to face the insuperable difficulty that not only have Dinka and Nuer almost certainly a common cultural origin but that there has also been continuous contact between them which has led to extensive borrowing by the Nuer from the Dinka, and possibly the process has been mutual, so that one cannot know for sure whether a similar trait in the two cultures is due to their common cultural origin or to later borrowing.

Moreover, any attempt to differentiate between the two peoples by a comparison between their physical characters is equally dangerous until a very large number of individuals whose ancestry is well known have been measured. I have little doubt myself that there are physical differences between Nuer and Dinka, though both are undoubtedly of the same race. But we have to remember that there has been absorption of Dinka on a gigantic scale by Nuer invasions during the first half of the 19th century. At that time most of the country east of the Nile was occupied by Dinka tribes who were dispersed and largely absorbed by the Nuer who crossed the Nile in waves from their home on the west bank. To such an extent were Dinka assimilated to Nuer that I consider it safe to say that not more than 50 per cent. of the Nuer to the east of the Nile are of pure descent, and though on the west bank the process

[1] I use the word "Nuer" but with a protest. They call themselves "Nath" (sing. *ran*), and if ever a more ambitious account of them is written this term will be used.

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of expansion and absorption has not been so extensive it has, nevertheless, been considerable. Both Nuer and Dinka myths recognise their common ancestry. It will soon be possible to see how closely their cultures approach one another to-day, but I reserve this comparison until the data is more abundant.

The Nuer have not been greatly affected by foreign influences owing to their geographical environment. Slight regional differences in environment exist, but their country is throughout hard on man and beast since it consists of an enormous plain which for the greater part of the year is either a parched desert or a swamp. These circumstances make the Nuer difficult to approach and their relations with the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have, on the whole, been broken and unsatisfactory and culminated a few years ago in open warfare on both banks of the Nile. Subsequently, a more deliberate policy and more systematic control were established for the whole area. At an early period the Nuer came into contact with Arabs, but, though this contact was closer in some parts of Nuerland than in others, I do not believe it anywhere deeply affected their culture.

Sketch map No. I shows the position of the Nuer in relation to the Shilluk and Dinka. The Nuer themselves speak of those tribes which inhabit the country to the west of the Bahr-el-Gebel as " homeland Nuer " (*Nath cieng*) and of those tribes which inhabit the country to the east of the Bahr-el-Gebel as " bush Nuer " (*Nath doar*), and it is convenient to make this distinction also by speaking of these two divisions as Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer respectively.

II.

Nuerland is divided into a number of territorial sections, the occupants of which form political units of the Nuer nation. These territorial sections I will call countries and the political units which occupy them I will call tribes. Thus, the Lou country is a territorial division of Nuerland and the Lou tribe is a political division of the Nuer nation. These tribes are shown on the accompanying sketch map No. II.

The published estimates of population of Nuer tribes will give some idea of their numerical importance.

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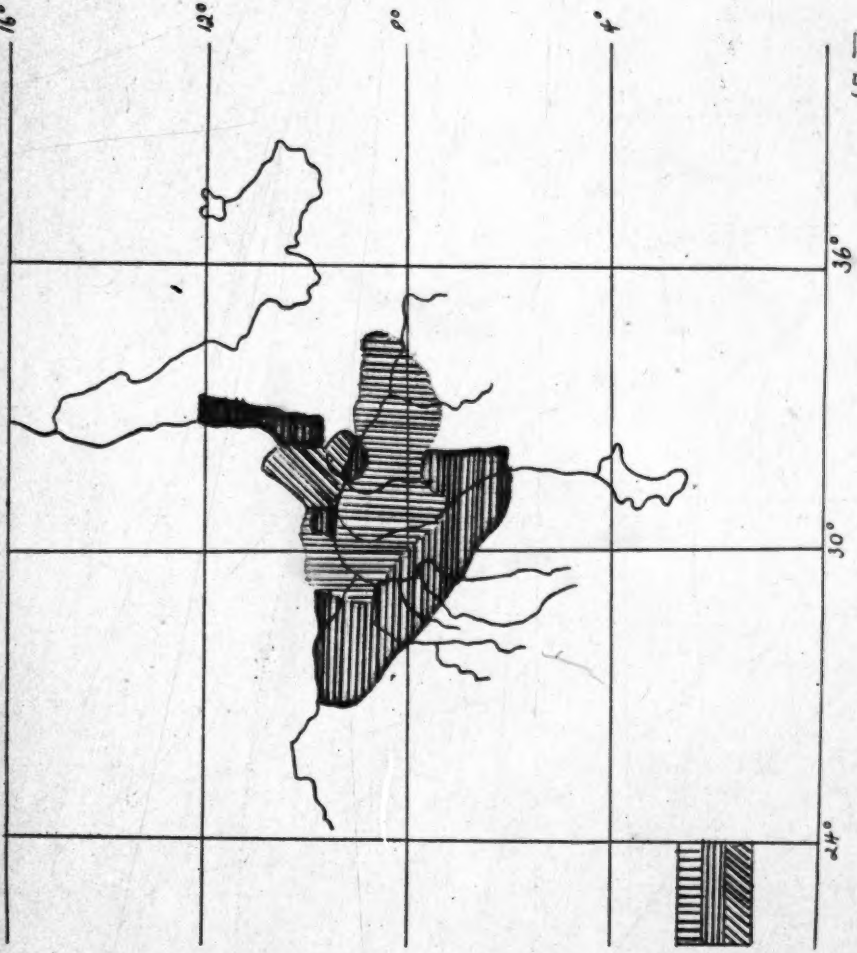

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SKETCH MAP No. I.

NUER .... GREEN.
DINKA .... RED.
SHILLUK .... BLUE.
(Other Members of the Shilluk-speaking group are not marked).

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EASTERN NUER.

Tribe.	Population.		
Thing	10,000[1]	...	—
Lou	70,000[1]	...	100,000[3]
Lak	30,000[1]	...	(+Thiang 40,000)[3]
Gaawăr	50,000[1]	...	30,000[2]
Jekany (Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwang)	160,000[1]	...	200,000[2]
Total for Eastern Nuer	320,000[1]	...	370,000[2]

There is no doubt that many of these estimates are excessive. The latest figures, and doubtless the most accurate ones, have not yet been published, but I have been privileged to see some of them. They place the Thiang at 7,750, the Lou at 19,025,[3] the Lak at about 18,000, the Gaawăr at 18,000. There is a probability, therefore, that the Eastern Nuer do not exceed 200,000–300,000 in total number.

Jackson does not furnish figures for the Western Nuer. Those given in the Rejaf Conference Report present a total population of 60,000 for all tribes. The only tribal figures I have seen are based partly on tribal affinity and partly on areas of administration. They are :—

WESTERN NUER.

Tribe.	Population.	
Dok	11,063	(1927)
Jagei	5,195	(1927)
Nuong	7,421	(1927–1929)
Bul	10,924	
Lek (one section)	8,353	
Lek (another section + two sections of Jekany)	3,120	
Kilual (+ some Jekany)	2,953	(1927)
Jekany (one section)	4,031	(1927)
Total	53,060	

I am fairy certain that not every one of the names given on the map represents a tribe in the sense in which I am using the term. The exact nature of these political divisions will be known only as a result of further research. A tribe is defined as the largest political unit within the nation and it has four characteristics : (1) it has a territorial basis, (2) its members have a common name and sentiment, (3) it regulates disputes between its members, (4) it unites for war against other tribes or segments of other nations.

[1] Is an estimate given by Jackson (*op. cit.*) in 1923.

[2] Is an estimate given in the *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, in 1928.

[3] The wide discrepancy between the latest and earlier estimates for the Lou is possibly due in part to inclusion in the earlier figures of the Ngok Dinka and those Dinka who have since been transferred to Dinkaland by the Government.

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631 (1) The territory of each tribe is clearly marked off from those 619 of its neighbours. Each tribe has its permanent villages and its fields of economic exploitation. The Lou, for instance, have their tribal grazing grounds, hunting areas, wells and lakes and rivers for dry season occupation and for fishing. The Gaajok also have their grazing grounds, etc., and if the Lou infringe on these there is sure to be fighting unless some arrangement has been reached between the tribal sections concerned.

(2) Each tribe has not only its territory, but its members have a 619 common name and sentiment. Thus Lek, Lou, Lak, Gaawär, etc., are the names by which the country and its occupants are known. Lou country is known as *rol looka* (genitive of lou) and Lek country is known as *rol legni* (genitive of lek), and an inhabitant of these two countries is spoken of as *ran looka* and *ran legni* respectively.

I am unable always to give the etymology of these tribal names. Some of them are clan names like Gaajok and Gaawär, since the tribe is named after its dominant clan. I will speak later of the meaning of clan names. Other tribes have stories accounting for their names, but these are in the nature of popular etymology and are sometimes contradictory. Thus the Lou and Rengyan tribes have aristocracies sprung 173 from a common ancestor, Denac, and are said to be so called because 619 there was a fight between the herd bulls of the two lineages. A *tut ma lou* (mouse-coloured bull) represented the lineage which migrated to Lou country and a *tut ma reng yan* (bull with fawn markings) represented the lineage which remained behind in Rengyan country (part of the country marked Jagei in the sketch map). Hence the two countries and the tribesmen who occupy them are called after those two bulls. I have heard a similar story accounting for the split which took place between the lineages which give their names to Lek and Kärlual countries. Here again the bulls of the two lineages had a fight, that occupying Lek country being represented by a *tut ma lek* (bull with giraffe-like markings) and that occupying Kärlual country being represented by a *tut ma kär lual* (bull with brown markings). Another man told me that when the original occupiers of Lek country entered it they discovered a pool crowded with a species of fish which they caught to satisfy their hunger, and that, as this species of fish is known as *lek*, the country and tribe 619 were called after them. Jekany is another tribal name of which the meaning is far from clear. Jackson (p. 75) recounts that when Kir

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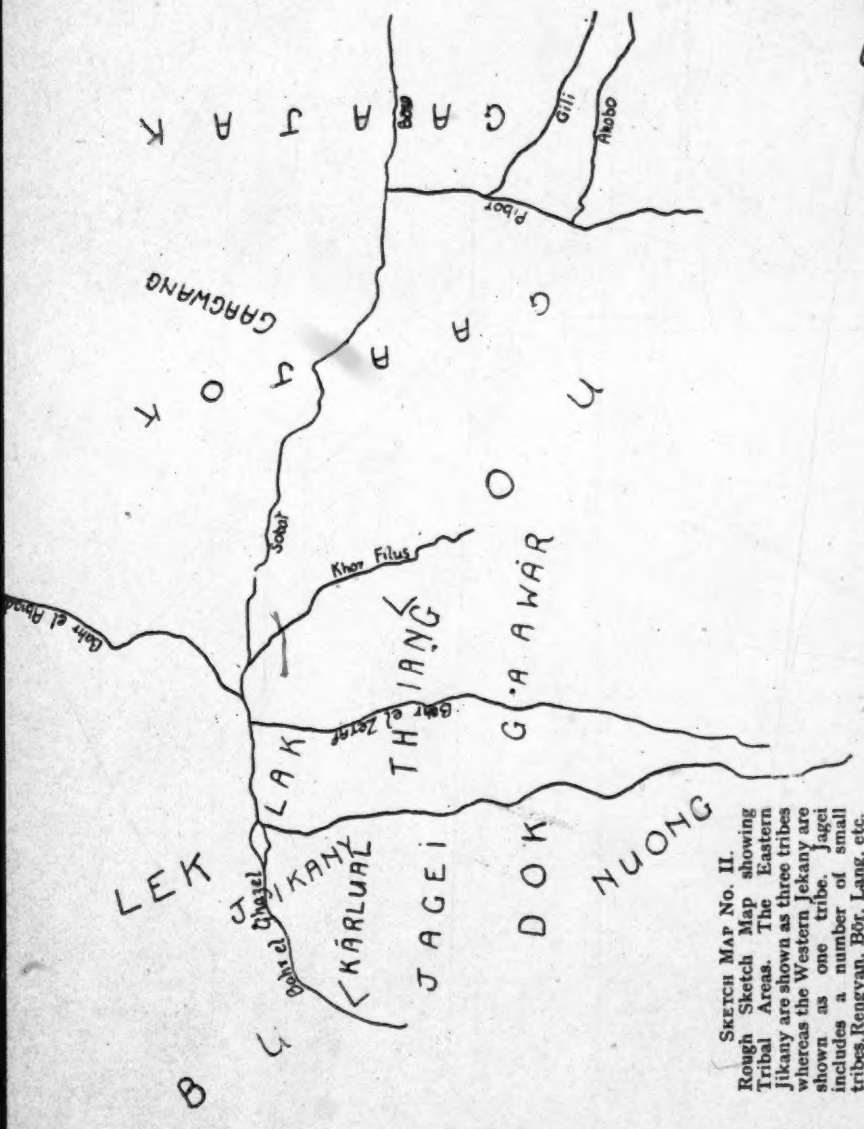

SKETCH MAP No. II.
Rough Sketch Map showing Tribal Areas. The Eastern Jikany are shown as three tribes whereas the Western Jekany are shown as one tribe. Jagei includes a number of small tribes, Rengyan, Bör, Lang, etc.

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619 fled from the Dinka who had brought him up they said "*achilo kang* (someone, the stranger) has gone. This phrase became corrupted into the word Jekaing, by which name the descendants of Kir are now known." This is an unlikely explanation, for one reason because the terminal phoneme in Jekany is *ny* and not *ng*, and for another reason, because *ji* is obviously a prefix meaning "people," as in JINACA, the people of Nac, or JIKUL, the people of Kul.[1] By analogy one may suppose that Jikany are the people of Kany, but it is very doubtful if Kany can be regarded as a proper name and equated with Kir, who was the founder of the dominant clan in this tribe and who, we might expect, would furnish the proper name after which the tribe would be called if they were called after a man. One may, nevertheless, I believe, ask a descendant of Kir "*Labi Kany?*" ("Are you a Kany?") in the same way as one may ask a descendant of Nac "*Labi Nac?*" ("Are you a Nac?"). Some people explain the term Jikany by saying that it is derived from a word meaning palm trees on account of a connection between palm trees and Kir who lived near them or who was found in a gourd on them or at their feet.

186 There can be no doubt that tribesmen have an emotional feeling about their country and hence towards its other occupants. This sentiment arises from common action in warfare, common name, common traditions, common regulation of public life, common territory, and above all from the fact that in each tribe one clan is predominant and forms the iron girders of kinship around which the political structure of the tribe is built up. Except in occasional periods of solidarity, however, when the tribe acts together as a military unit, the sentiments E78 which bind its members together are extremely weak. Thus we find lengthy feuds going on between one section and another within the tribe itself.

619 621 627 (3) Nevertheless, machinery, even though it is cumbrous and not always very effective, exists by which feuds can be prevented or settled sooner or later when they take place between segments of the same tribe, whereas if a member of one tribe kills a member of another tribe there is no definite social machinery for controlling the situation which will arise as a result of the homicide. At the same time it is necessary to point out that the degree of control over retaliation for homicide varies

[1] In reading proofs I notice that I have written Jikany and Jekany equally but have not thought it worth while to alter. This is also the case with Jimac and Jemac.

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considerably within the tribe itself according to the size of the section concerned. The smaller the sections involved the greater the control, the larger the sections involved the smaller the control. Thus it is easier to settle a dispute between two villages of the Leng tertiary section of the Lou tribe than between one village of the Leng tertiary section and another village of the Nyarkwac tertiary section (*see* sketch map No. III). This is due to closer local cohesion in the first case than in the second and to closer relationship among the dominant clan element throughout the Leng section than between this element and the corresponding element in the Nyarkwac section. In the same way the Nuer say that there is more likelihood of settling a dispute between fighting factions of Gaatbal and Rumjok secondary tribal sections (*see* sketch map No. III) than between Gaatbal and Jemac secondary tribal sections, since Gaatbal and Rumjok both form part of the same primary tribal section of Gun while Jemac forms part of a different primary tribal section, the Mor. In this case also the dominant elements of Gaatbal and Rumjok sections belong to the same clan while the dominant element of Jemac section belongs to a different clan (*see* diagram No. V). Doubtless this is a statement of general tendency or principle and is, in actual practice, subject to many exceptions due to the special circumstances of the dispute and the genealogical relationship of the parties involved in it.

In kindly criticism[1] of the paper which I read before the British Association Mr. Coriat takes exception to my regarding settlement of disputes among tribesmen as a characteristic of tribal organisation. He points out that "in the past acts of homicide as between members of different Nuer tribes were dealt with by leopard skin chiefs in the same way as with members of tribal groups." I do not wish to pit my slight experience of the Nuer against the great knowledge and long experience of Mr. Coriat. Doubtless many homicide cases between members of different tribes were settled by leopard-skin chiefs. Among all peoples there is a wide divergence between theories of social life and actual social practice. I can only urge that I was constantly told as a legal rule or principle by the Nuer themselves, however little this may accord with actual practice, that among all Lou tribesmen there was *cut* (compensation for homicide) whereas there was no *cut* between Lou

[1] Privately circulated.

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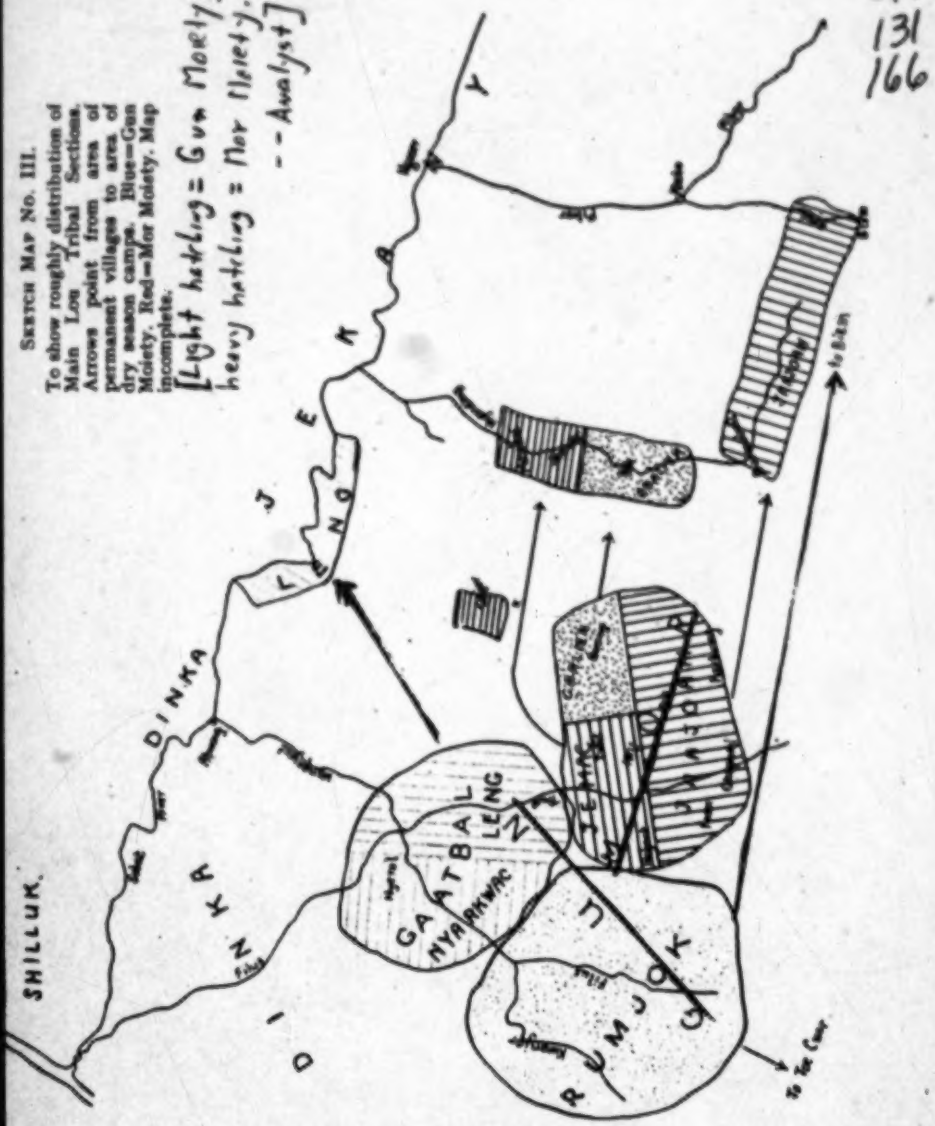
SKETCH MAP No. III.

To show roughly distribution of Main Lou Tribal Sections. Arrows point from area of permanent villages to area of dry season camps. Blue=Gun Moiety. Red=Mor Moiety. Map incomplete.

[Light hatching = Gun Moiety; heavy hatching = Mor Moiety. --Analyst]



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619 and Gaawir or between Lou and Gaajok. In Gaajok country I was
621 also repeatedly informed that there was *cut* between all Gaajok tribesmen,
but no *cut* between them and Gaagwang or Gaajak tribesmen. It is
682 true that tribes are not water-tight compartments. People moved all
677 over Nuerland with remarkable freedom and there are strong social bonds
[581] uniting people with members of tribes other than their own, particularly
[619] the bonds of marriage (there has always been interchange of daughters between Lou and Gaajok, for instance) and the bonds of clanship (the dominant elements in Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, for example, belong to the same clan since they are all descended from the same ancestor, Kir. Also lineages of the same clan are scattered far and wide among a dozen different tribes, but still recognise their kinship in spite of their territorial disintegration). Nevertheless, the declarations of Nuer on this point must have some significance, and I consider it well to record my own impressions from their verbal statements, together with Mr. Coriat's criticism. The point is important, but not overwhelmingly
619 so. What is of greater significance is that each tribe has its own tribal
624 officials who regulate disputes among tribesmen in so far as their ritual functions allow them to do so. The Lou leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Lou tribesmen and Gaajok leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Gaajok tribesmen. In virtue of his sacred character a leopard-skin chief (or land expert) can perform his ritual functions irrespective of tribal boundaries, but in the nature of things one does not summon a leopard-skin chief from Gaajok country to function in Lou country, but each district of Lou country has its regular experts who perform whatever services are required of them by fellow tribesmen of their section.

(4) Tribesmen unite for defensive and offensive warfare against
679 other tribes and segments of other nations. Messengers summoned
721 Lou tribesmen from all over the tribal area for a combined raid on the
698 Dinka and those who wished to take part in the raid answered the summons. In such expeditions there was a truce to disputes within the tribe itself and temporary tribal solidarity was attained. Mr. Coriat points out to me, with some justice, that "it is incorrect to state that the tribe is the largest political unit within the nation. Their history can show many instances where two or more tribes have combined in common offence and defence. As an example, Lou and Jekany against the Anuak,

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619 721 648 Garweir and Lou against the Dinka. In fact, the tribes combined in their first conquests of the Dinka." I was aware of these combinations, but I preferred to regard them as alliances between two political units. In the same way in Europe, nations, the largest political units of our culture, combine together for purposes of warfare, but they do not lose their political autonomy by doing so. The comparison goes no further. Here again I wish to make it clear that I do not regard Nuer tribes as cohesive, clearly defined, water-tight, political groups. They are surely not. There are constant feuds between segments of the same tribe; there is constant marriage, fraternisation, and recognition of common kinship, between members of different tribes. Moreover, the tribe, as is explained more fully later, comprises within its boundaries a number of fairly cohesive segments cut off from each other territorially and these segments are united to one another by slender links which frequently snap so that new tribes are formed by fission. When tribes allied for warfare, each organised itself separately, so far as I could gather. Thus, when Lou united with Gaajok and Gaajak each organised its fighting force under its own leaders and magicians.

619 In my opinion, the Nuer tribes may be said to have had these political functions even if they carried them out very inadequately, and it is in this belief that I have spoken of the Lou as a tribe which includes two primary sections, the Gun and the Mor, but I have classed the eastern Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang as three separate tribes rather than as three sections of a Jekany tribe. I admit that the Nuer tribes did not carry out their functions in the clear-cut manner which we find among the tribes of many other African nations, e.g., the Azande. The Nuer tribe is a very fluid affair. It is not a constant and static group, but it is variable and dynamic. The way in which it has segmented is sufficient evidence of this. Fission takes place as a result of slow but continual social changes, the tendency being always that as the tribe gets larger it loses solidarity accordingly, so that it is not always possible to say with certainty when a tribe, in the sense in which I have used the term, is a single tribe with two moieties or whether it would not be more correct to speak of two separate tribes. I do not want to be guilty of the despicable offence of word-polishing. Those who wish to speak of the Gun and Mor moieties of the Lou tribe as two tribes or of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes as two primary sections of one Jekany tribe are free to do so.

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Little harm is done whichever way we speak of them so long as we clearly define what we refer to at the outset. The point to remember is that "tribe" among the Nuer is a relative term and that what we speak of as a tribe to-day may not be one in our sense to-morrow. I have even been told (by Cuol, the Government interpreter at Nasser) that there was no *cut* between Yol and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe. He told me that there used to be blood-compensation between these two sections till so many people on either side were killed that it ceased to function. It is clear, if this is the case, that "tribe" must be relative, and to some degree an arbitrary and *ad hoc* term. The only difference between the nomenclature used in this paper and that usually employed is that I shall regard the three divisions of what is generally called the Eastern Jekany tribe, the Gaajak, Gaajok, and Gaagwang, as separate tribes. In doing this I fully realise the arbitrariness of the usage.

This continual process of segmentation in the tribe is due to the weakening of these bonds upon which the solidarity of primitive groups depends, communal life and kinship. The difficulty of pasturing and watering cattle during the dry season necessitates a sparse population to a large area. The more populous a group becomes the greater becomes this economic problem which can only be solved by its members going further and further afield to exploit more distant pastures and water supplies. This has undoubtedly been one of the causes of Nuer expansion during the last century. The result is that members of a group become less and less into contact with one another the larger it grows and the social and political solidarity of the group is consequently loosened. Thus, the tribe has the minimum of cohesion, while the small village group which lives together in dry and wet seasons is a closely knit community. The cohesion of other territorial groups between the village and the tribe varies in rough proportion to their size. As will be explained later, widening of spacial distance goes hand in hand with widening of distance in blood relationship. For even the bonds of kinship loosen when kin ceases to be localised and begin to spread over a large area, because if kin are to function as economic, social and ceremonial agents they must live together. How else can they pasture their herds in the same plains? How else can they attend the same weddings and mortuary ceremonies? How else can they act together

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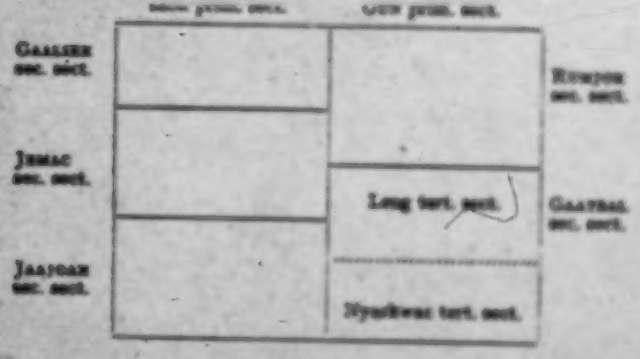
619 621 602 as a blood-revenge group? Moreover, as will be seen later, Nuer kinship groups are always being diluted by assimilation of unrelated elements, and the tendency is for community of living to supplant community of blood as the functioning element in Nuer society.

619 We have to bear in mind that segmentation is taking place all the time with every kind of territorial group, from the smallest to the largest, within the tribe, just as it happens to the tribe itself. I shall speak of the largest segments into which a tribe is divided as primary tribal sections, though when these are two in number, as often happens, we may speak of them as tribal moieties, e.g., the Lou tribe is split into moieties of Gun and Mor and, according to Jackson, the Thiang tribe is split into moieties of Ria and Bang. The Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang, which to-day have the status of separate tribes among the Jekany on the East bank of the Nile, were once primary sections of the Jekany tribe as they probably still are in its western homeland. Now, just as the Lou tribe is split into two primary tribal sections, Gun and Mor, so these sections are split into what I shall call secondary tribal sections, e.g., Gun is divided into secondary tribal sections of Rumjok and Gaatbal, while Mor is divided into secondary tribal sections of Gaaliek, Jaajouh, and Jemac. Each of these secondary tribal sections is split into further divisions which I will call tertiary tribal sections, e.g., the Gaatbal secondary tribal section is split into two tertiary tribal sections, the Leng and Nyarkwac. This may be shown diagrammatically (capitals do not here denote clans) :—

DIAGRAM No. II.
LOU TRIBE.



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In the same manner diagram No. III shows the primary sections of the Gaagwang tribe and the primary and secondary sections of the Gaajak and Gaajok tribes. These are presented as accurately as my knowledge permits, but anyone acquainted with the difficulties of unravelling the complex system of Nuer tribal divisions will not be surprised if he discovers sections which he knows under different names or others which he may think should not have been omitted. I do not know for sure what are the secondary tribal sections of the Gaagwang tribe.

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DIAGRAM No. III.

EASTERN JIKANY TRIBES.

Gaajok tribe.	Gaagwang tribe.	Gaajak tribe.
Thior sec. sect.	Gaatheka primary sect.	nyajua sec. sect.
Dwong sec. sect.		cany sec. sect.
Kwith sec. sect.		wuo sec. sect.
Miny4k sec. sect.	Nyuong primary sect.	kbag sec. sect.[1]
Wang sec. sect.		cul sec. sect.
Nyathol sec. sect.		dhilmak sec. sect.
Pwot sec. sect.	Nyaang primary sect.	tar sec. sect.
Kwal sec. sect.		kang sec. sect.
Thi sec. sect.		kany sec. sect.
Cam sec. sect.		
Kwal sec. sect.		

Laaoc primary sect. — Waanyar primary sect. — Yar primary sect. — Gaagwang primary sect. — Rang primary sect. — Thiang primary sect.

Each of these tribal sections possesses the characters of the tribe itself, but more intensified. Each has its name, but the smaller the segment the stronger the sentiment associated with it. Each has a territorial basis, but the smaller the segment the more compact the territory, the more contiguous its members. Just as the tribe itself is crystallised around a clan so each segment is crystallised around a lineage of the clan and the smaller the segment the closer the relationship between members of this kinship nucleus. As I have said before, the smaller the area the greater the social cohesion.

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Each of these segments is a political group and an economic group. As a political group it unites for warfare. The principle of unity is as

619 631 625

[1] Also called Yiek and Yaar.

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619 631 628 follows (*see* diagram No. II). Leng tertiary tribal section may fight Nyarkwac tertiary tribal section, and in fact there has been a long feud between the two, but, in theory, according to my informants, if there is a row between Gaatbal secondary tribal section and Rumjok secondary tribal section, Leng and Nyarkwac will unite against the common enemy Rumjok which recruits from the several segments into which it is divided. On the other hand, if there is a fight between the Mor and Gun primary tribal sections, Rumjok and Gaatbal will unite against the combined Mor sections of Gaaliek, Jemse, and Jaajoah. This division of forces is based on the double principle of social cohesion, territorial contiguity and kinship. The Mor sections all live in one part of Lou country and the Gun sections all live in another part of Lou country (*see* sketch map No. III). The dominant lineages of the Mor sections are related closely to each other, while the dominant lineages of the Gun sections are also on their side closely related. However, I was told that in a row of this kind between Gun and Mor primary sections every effort would be made to turn the combat into a harmless armed demonstration (like so much of Nuer combativeness) rather than a regular pitched battle. My informants said that if no one were killed in the preliminary skirmishes the older men would get together and arrange for compensation to be paid for the offence which occasioned the rupture—generally a dispute about the ownership of cattle.

619 721 When a raid into Dinka country was organised Mor and Gun would both contribute warriors to the expedition, since both sections belong to the same tribe and since their dominant lineages are united by kinship bonds.

619 628 631 A similar principle was supposed to operate among the Jekany (*see* diagram No. III). Thus Minyâl, Wang and Nyathuol would combine against Yol. Also Thiur, Dwong and Kwith sections would unite for purposes of warfare. The primary tribal sections were frequently at strife with one another, and in these feuds we again see how closeness of contiguity and kinship are the deciding factors in the combinations. Thus my informants said that Wangkac and Yol will unite for war against another section since the ancestors of the dominant lineages of both sections were sons of the same mother (Nyalieth, wife of Ken, son of Majok). According to this principle Wangkac, Laang and Yol ought to combine against the Gaajak tribe.

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However this may have been in theory, in practice these tribal sections were largely autonomous groups and acted as such in their enmities and alliances. At one time they would be fighting among themselves and at other times they would combine against a third party, though the combinations were not as regular and simple as they were explained to me and as I have stated them on paper. I am extremely ignorant about the history of feuds among sections of the Lou and Jekany tribes and I record here the slight data I possess on the subject. I have already referred to the feud between sections Leng and Nyarkwac of the Lou tribe. This springs out of an earlier feud between sections Thiang and Yol which once formed sub-sections of Nyarkwac. The ancestors of the dominant lineages in the Leng and Yol sections were brothers, whereas the ancestor of the dominant lineage of the Thiang section stood to these brothers in the relation of sister's son. For a long while the Yol and Thiang sections lived peaceably together, but about thirty or so years ago a feud broke out between them and the Thiang section fled, defeated, to seek protection among the Leng section. The Yol sent messengers to the Leng telling them that they were not to receive their enemies or give them a home in their country. The Leng section replied that the ancestor of the LENG lineage was the maternal uncle of the ancestor of the THIANG lineage and that they could not refuse asylum to their sister's sons. This attitude involved Yol (Nyarkwac) in a second feud, this time with a combination of Leng and Thiang.

In Gaajok country the Yol primary tribal section joined the Gaagwang tribe (who seem to have identified themselves so much with the Gaajok tribe that we may almost speak of them as a single tribe separated from the Gaajak by the wide Macar swamps) against several (if not all) sections of the Gaajak tribe. I have a note that Yol fought Nyayan while Gaagwang fought Reng and Kang sections.

It appears that about half a century or more ago the Laang and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe were involved in a long feud and that there was warfare between the Yol and Wangkac sections. In the course of this warfare Yol were assisted by their allies the Gaagwang tribe and together they defeated the Wangkac so heavily that they moved to the far south along the Pibor river in the neighbourhood of Beirland. Here they say that they were attacked by "Turuk" and fled north again

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to the site of their old homes but were then too exhausted to resume their feud with the Yol section.

Another recent feud in Lou country was, I believe, that between Falkir and Nyajekany tertiary sections of Rumjok primary section, and there have been others between various sections of the Mor moiety, particularly between two sections of the Jimac[1].

The commonest occasions of feuds are probably related to economic activities. One section pastures its cattle on grazing grounds over which another section has rights of ownership—rights, as we shall see later, which derive from clan heritage and are divided among the chief lineages of the clan; or men of one section attempt to water their cattle at the wells of their neighbours; or there is conflict over fishing rights. For a tribe is an economic group and so is each of its sections. This is shown in map No. V, for which, together with map No. IV, I am indebted to the industry of Mr. C. L. Armstrong. The curved lines show areas of permanent villages of the Gaagwang tribe and the main sections of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, while the straight lines show the area of their dry season encampments. Map No. III was drawn up by myself after questioning Lou tribesmen and is intended to give an idea of the areas of the dry and wet season occupation of the Lou, but I was unable to visit more than a fraction of the area in person. It is, therefore, not likely to be so accurate as Mr. C. L. Armstrong's map of distribution. Both maps show the annual movement of the sections from their permanent villages to their annual watering places and pastures in the dry season. The whole of Nuer life follows the rhythm of the seasons. I will describe this rhythmic movement as briefly as possible as I hope to write a separate paper on Nuer economic life. The major parts of Jekany and Lou countries are huge, flat, treeless plains of cotton soil. Where there is a slight rise in the plain the spot is selected as the site of a permanent village consisting of well-built huts and cattle byres. Where there is a dip in the plain we find rivers, pools and swamps. The Sobat river begins to fall about December when the rains decline and as it falls it drains the streams into which it has emptied its waters earlier

[1] I take this opportunity to add a footnote to explain that I have not been consistent in my use of Nuer spellings for tribal sections and clan lineages. Thus a clan lineage may be called *ather a mun* called Kwa, but his descendants will be *gaat* kwith and his village *cieng* kwith. A clan is called after a man *yi* and becomes *cieng yie*, or after *yual* and becomes *cieng yul*. I fear that I have sometimes used the nominative and sometimes the genitive cases. Names on Map No. V Yual and Wanghiar may be read as Yol and Wanghjar.

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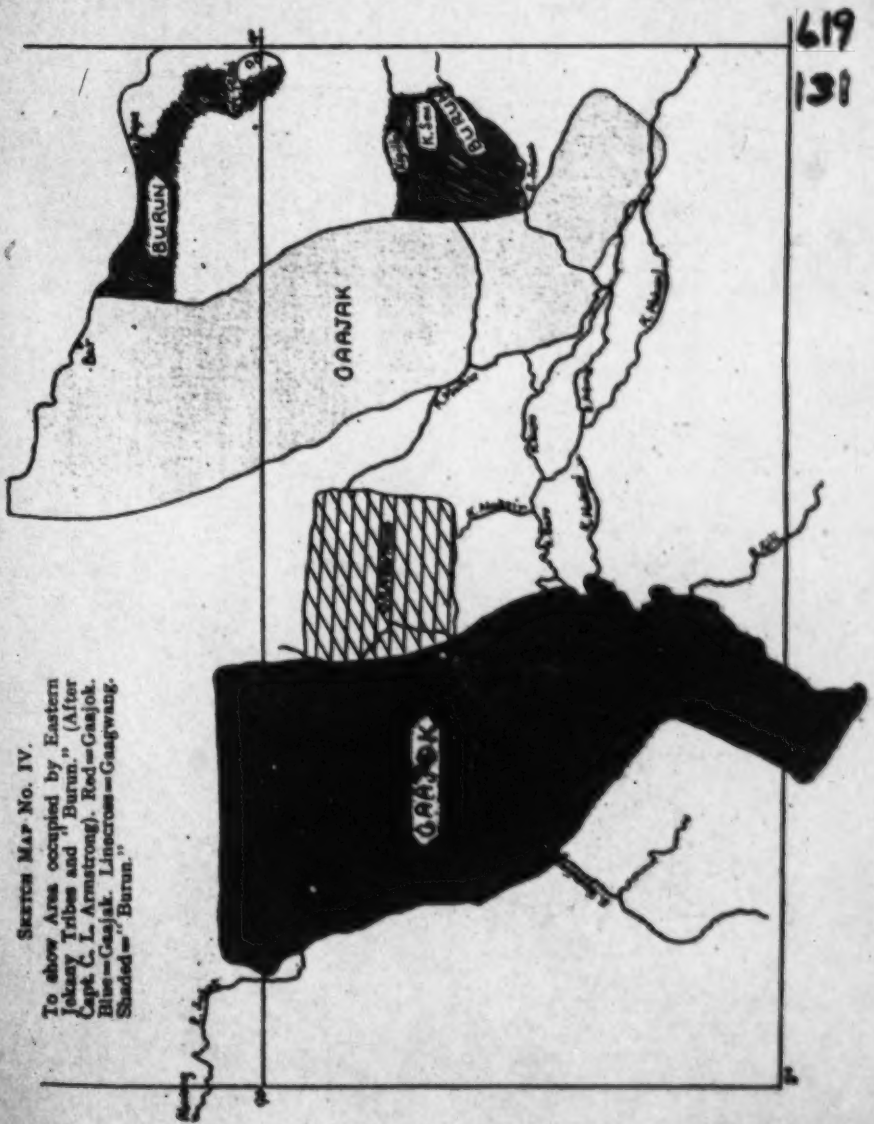

SKETCH MAP No. IV.
To show Area occupied by Eastern Jokany Tribes and "Burun." (After Capt. C. L. Armstrong). Red=Ganjok. Blue=Gaajak. Linocross=Gangwang. Shaded="Burun."

[facing p. 18]

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321/133 in the year. At about this time the younger men of the tribe take the cattle out of the villages while the older men and the women reap the harvest. When the harvest is completed they burn the grass around the various pools which they intend to make their dry season quarters. As these rain-water pools dry up, the various household groups and groups of households which have been quartered near them begin to concentrate around larger pools in river beds or near a river bed in which it is known that wells can be dug or along the banks of the Sobat itself. Here they spend the remainder of the dry season. The Sobat begins to rise again about May and further drainage ceases. In June the rains commence and a double process of irrigation occurs. The Sobat runs out along what, on a map, appear to be its tributaries, but are more accurately its channels of overflow, while at the source end of these streams the rains begin to collect and run towards the Sobat, so that the two waters, the outgoing river water and the incoming rain water, meet. As soon as the rains commence, part of the occupants of the dry season camps return to their villages to sow the crops and as soon as it is seen that the rains have set in for good, they are followed by the young men who drive the cattle as quickly as possible to the villages where they will spend the height of the wet season.

Year by year this ebb and flow from village to dry season camps and back again goes on, but, though it is repeated each year, the time of movement, the density of concentration around water supplies, and even the place of concentration, vary according to the severity of the season. Thus, the Lou will remain as long as possible around their area of permanent villages and will concentrate around large pools like Tepjor, Nyerol, Muot Dit, Muot Tot, Fading, rather than migrate to the Sobat, Nyanding and Geni rivers, and the Dinka marshes, though I think that they generally find their way to these localities before the dry season is over.

361/114 A permanent village may consist of a group of huts and byres on an isolated *dabbe*, but those I have seen generally comprise a slightly raised area of ground of a few hundred square yards dotted with strings of homesteads. A village may cover an area of several square miles without intermission of dwellings. I regret that I am not able to give any clear idea of the social distribution of these villages since I have only lived with the Nuer in their dry season camps save for a short stay at

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361 Pakur village (Lek tribe) on my introduction to Nuerland when I was quite
114 unable to make any maps of social distribution upon which I have the slightest reliance. Under these circumstances I shall speak somewhat loosely of districts and villages, meaning by district an area occupied by secondary and tertiary tribal sections such as the Leng and the Nyajekany of the Lou tribe and the Minyaal and Thiur sections of Gaajok, and by villages I shall mean a part of a district which is well demarcated through the proximity of its homesteads and hamlets, each being more or less joined to its neighbours by cultivated grounds, and through the wide gaps which divide it from other similarly occupied parts of the district, gaps filled by forest, bush or swamp. The precision of these terms and the size of the group to which they refer are very variable. My ignorance of Nuer country, over which I was unable to travel more than a few miles, prevents me from presenting a map of such distributions. I speak, to make it clearer to those on the spot, of such places as Muot Dit, Kurmayom (Lou), Pakur (Lek), Panyam (Dok) as villages, but I am by no means certain that among the Western Nuer and in the eastern Jekany countries villages of this kind are so well defined by geographical isolation.

621 Those cattle camps which I have seen vary in size from a cluster of windscreens protecting some 80 persons to a number of clusters protecting some two to three thousand persons. What information I possess on this dry season distribution will be written up under the heading of Nuer kinship and at the present I only wish to notice that there is a greater degree of solidarity, spacial and moral, in the dry season when the inhabitants of a district are living around a single water supply and when dissentions are subdued than in the wet season when they are scattered in their different villages and when the pulse of life beats stronger, largely owing to increased food supplies which follow from harvesting, and quarrels are considered seasonable.

361 By hamlets I mean groups of homesteads which often enough form a separate cluster on a village plain and which are occupied by a man and his brothers and other persons united to them by marriage or other social links. I do not suggest that these hamlets are always very distinct. By homesteads I mean the dwellings of a single man and his wives and children and cattle. These consist of a single cattle byre and kraal and a number of sleeping and cooking huts grouped around it. It is often convenient to speak of a joint homestead to denote several homesteads,

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generally manned by a man and his brothers or married sons, with a common kraal or contiguous kraals. Up till the present I have refrained as far as possible from the use of Nuer words when referring to their political and territorial segments. Especially have I avoided the term *cieng* (*shieng*), which has been the source of much confusion. I will now speak briefly of these native terms and explain their meanings, as far as my knowlege of the Nuer language goes, in relation to the ethnological expressions I have employed in this essay.

The word *cieng* means "home." When you ask a Nuer where is his home, you ask him what is his *cieng*. Hence the word may have a large number of different meanings which vary with the situations in which it is spoken. If you meet an Englishman in Germany and you ask him where is his home, he will reply that his home is in England. If you meet him in London and ask him the same question he will tell you that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if you meet him in that county he will tell you the name of the town or village in which he lives. If you ask him where is his home in the town or village where he lives he will mention a particular street or house. So it is with the Nuer. If you meet a Nuer outside Nuerland he will tell you that he comes from *cieng Nath* (Nuerland, the home of the Nuer). If you meet him east of the Nile he may tell you that he comes from *Nath cieng* (the homeland Nuer, or the Nuer who live to the west of the Nile, in contrast to the *Nath doar* (Bush Nuer), or the Nuer to the east of the Nile). These are, however, particular uses of the word *cieng*, which usually refers to much smaller territorial units. I cannot recollect a Nuer speaking of his country (tribal area) as a *cieng*, though I see no reason why he should not do so. Normally he calls his country his *ral*. It is of the tribal sections that he uses the word *cieng*, and if you ask him where is his *cieng* he presumes you want to know the name of his village or district. Hence he tells you the name of the village where he lives, e.g., *cieng* Minyâll (Jokany) or *cieng* Dumiem (Lou) or *cieng* Pakur (Lek), the villages of Minyâll or Dumiem or Pakur, or he may mention under the same term larger districts such as *cieng* Leng or *cieng* Wangkuac, the districts of Leng and Wangkuac. In different contexts he may speak of even larger areas as *cieng*, e.g., the tertiary tribal section of Gaatbel as *cieng* Gaatbel (Lou). On the other hand he may use *cieng* when speaking of smaller units than the village, such as the hamlet and

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196 homestead. *Ciengda* (my home), in the singular, generally means "my homestead" where I live with my family, whereas *ciengdan* (our home) means usually "our hamlet" or "our village." Thus a man will say "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") in reference to his village, such as the village of Pakur (Lek), but if he is already in the village of Pakur and says "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") he means that he is returning to the hamlet where he and his relatives live in a particular section of the village. If he is in the hamlet and says "*wa ciengda*" ("I am going (to my) home") he means that he is going to his hut or cattle byre. I remember making a mistake in this way when I used to say "*wa ciengdan*," meaning that I was off to my tent, for whichthe Nuer would good-humouredly rebuke me, saying, "Isn't this, our camp, your home?" whereas when I said "*wa ciengda*," in the singular, it passed without the criticism which the Nuer unfailingly bring to bear on any error in grammar or pronunciation. *Cieng* thus means homestead, village, district, tribal sections, homeland and even "home" in an unspecified sense, e.g., it may be said in a story *nyaang ce wa cieg* (the crocodile went home) or *jicieng* (villagers), etc., etc.; for this reson I use the word as little as possible.

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619 There is a further reason for avoiding its use, and though I shall have occasion when speaking of the Nuer clan system to mention it more fully I will refer to it in this place. The *cieng*, in the sense of homestead, is called after the man who lives there, e.g., the homestead occupied by Rainen is called *cieng* Rainen. When Rainen is dead and his sons and nephews live together in a hamlet they will call the hamlet after him and it will be said that they live in *cieng* Rainen. If Rainen was an important enough man and founded a strong enough lineage, the whole village where his descendants and strangers who have intermarried with them live will then become known as *cieng* Rainen. In course of time his descendants will have multiplied and will occupy a district or a large tribal area which will come to be known as *cieng* Rainen. Hence it comes about that many of the tribal sections I have mentioned as examples for the use of *cieng* are called after persons, e.g., Miny-Aal, Dumiem, Wangkeac, Gaatbal. As will be explained more clearly later a lineage thus becomes identified in speech with the territory which it occupies—the district occupied by the major lineage of WANGKEAC, for example, being known as *cieng* Wangkeac. The Nuer then talks

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about the district and the lineage which lives there as interchangeable terms and speaks of *cieng* WANGKEAC in the sense of the WANGKEAC lineage. This leads a European into depths of confusion since the WANGKEAC lineage and the people who live in the village of Wangkeac are by no means the same thing. I shall have occasion to plumb these depths of confusion, into which I have myself been long plunged, in the following sections.

Cieng, in the singular, e.g., ciengda (my homestead), is the same as *gol* in the singular, e.g., *golla* (my homestead), and *cieng* in the plural, e.g., *ciengdan* (our hamlet), which means the same as *gol* in the plural, e.g., *gollan* (our hamlet). The literal meaning of *gol* is the large dung fire which occupies the centre of every cattle byre. During the wet season this is kept continually alight and serves to keep mosquitoes away from the cattle and the young men who sleep on a platform above it, while during the daytime people sit around it and chat. In the dry season the *gol* is a huge heap of ashes enclosed by a windscreen and around it sleep the inmates of the windscreen and there also they spend a large part of the day watching their cattle, drinking milk, sleeping and smoking. This dung fire signifies the home and especially symbolises the household from the point of view of its male occupants since women have their own cooking fires. *Jigoalla* (the people of my *gol*) are the people of my household, especially the menfolk of my household. *Gol* Cam or *gol* Pec is the homestead or windscreen of Cam or Pec and hence means the household of Cam or Pec. *Ran gol* Cam is a member of Cam's household and *jigoal* Pec is the household of Pec, i.e., the people who habitually live in his homestead and make use of his cattle byre.

The only other Nuer word I will draw attention to in this place is *dor*. I think that the most comprehensive meaning of *dor* is what is not actual homestead. The word generally means "bush" in contrast to *cieng* (home), e.g., "*wa dor*" ("I am going into the bush" almost "I am going out") is the opposite to "*wa cieng*" ("I am going home"). Different parts of the bush can be designated by some conspicuous landmark as the *dor* of such and such a thing. The word is noticed in this place because it is often used to refer to the unoccupied land lying around a homestead or hamlet which is used for sowing maize or on which goats and sheep and calves graze. In this sense *doran* (our dor) has much the same meaning as *ciengdan* (our *cieng*), though the former word seems

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823 196 rather more inclusive. But both are used to refer to " our home," " our hamlet," " our village." Thus Pakur (Lek tribe) village is divided up into a number of hamlets, and one may speak of each hamlet with the unoccupied land around it which divides it off from neighbouring hamlets as a *dor* and designate it by some landmark, e.g., *dor ngop* (the part of the village which lies near the *gameiza* (fig-tree)), *dor wich kwer* (the part of the village which lies around a sandy eminence) and *dor thok ruop* (the part of the village which borders the forest). As we have already noticed, such territorial expressions become identified with the people who occupy the territory, so in this case we may speak of CUOL *ngop* and CUOL *wich kwer*, the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the *Gameiza* tree and the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the sandy eminence.

I mention these three Nuer words, *cieng*, *gol*, and *dor*, because they are so frequently heard on Nuer lips and to explain that my reason for using them so seldom in the text is that they refer to so many different things according to the context in which they are spoken.

III.

621 I have spoken of the clan as forming the iron girders upon which the political structure of the tribe is built up; I have spoken of each tribe having a dominant element within it; I have mentioned that the territorial groups of Nuer country integrate themselves around a kinship nucleus and that their cohesion depends upon this nucleus as much as upon communal life or locality; I have remarked that as the ties of kinship become more and more distantly stretched they weaken and that they weaken also by the dilution of kinship with other elements and that both these processes are reflected in the manner in which tribal groups segment. These assertions need explanation. It is very difficult to analyse Nuer society without repetition because when we speak of the tribe we are also speaking of political aggregates which crystallise around some clans. Yet it is imperative to keep these two groups, the tribe and the clan, distinct if endless confusion is to be avoided. Much of the confusion of Jackson's account is due to the fact that he did not clearly differentiate between them.

619 361 614 Herein lies a great difficulty. The Nuer tribe always has a name derived from the name of the country which it occupies, e.g., one may

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speak of Lou tribesmen as *ji looka* (people of Lou), or of Lek tribesmen as *ji legni* (people of Lek); but generally this name is also the name of the clan, for a country is often called after its first occupants and owners, e.g., Gaawär is the name of the tribal territory of the tribesmen who occupy it, and presumably, for I have not been there, of the clansmen who form the dominant element in the tribal territory. GAAJAK and GAAGWANG are clan lineages who have given their names to the countries where they live. To eliminate this difficulty I have throughout written tribes and tribal sections in small letters and clans and clan lineages in capitals. Hence if I say that a man is a Gaawär I mean that he is a man inhabiting Gaawär country, i.e., a member of the Gaawär tribe, whereas if I say that a man is a GAAWÄR I mean that he is a descendant in the male line from Wär, i.e., a member of the GAAWÄR clan. I will give two more examples to make this point quite clear. If you ask a Lou man what is his *cieng*, you are asking him where he lives, what is his homestead, village or district. Suppose that he replies that his *cieng* is *cieng* Pual, you can ask him what his *cieng* forms part of, and he will tell you that it is part of *cieng* Leng, giving the name of a tertiary tribal section. If you continue to interrogate him he will inform you that *cieng* Leng forms part of *cieng* Gaatbal, a secondary tribal section, and he will explain that *cieng* Gaatbal is a division of the Gun primary tribal section which is a moiety of the Lou tribe. But he has told you nothing about his clan relationship. He may *or* may *not* be a member of the PUAL clan lineage which forms a part of the LENG lineage, which forms part of the GAATBAL lineage, which forms part of the clan of JINACA or GAAT GAN NACA, the people of Nac or the children of the children of Nac. In the same way, if a Jekany man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* Kwith of the Gaatjok, it does not follow that he is descended from Kwe (Kwith) who is descended from Kun (whose bullock name was majok), but he merely means that he lives in a tribal section occupied by the KWITH lineage which forms part of the tribe occupied by the GAAJOK who are a principal lineage of the GAAT GAN KIIR, the children of the children of Kir. I shall shortly explain the meaning of these lineages.

Owing to the fact that the Nuer have no word for clan, as we understand the group, and that they have no stereotyped modes of referring to clansmen, we are in some difficulty in writing about them. The

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614 ordinary words for clansmen are composed of the names of the founder with a prefix of *gaat* (children) or *gaat gan* (children of children) or *ji* (people), e.g.,

gaat Wär (GAAWĀR), the children of Wär.
gaat gan Kiir, the children of the children of Kir.
ji Diet, the people of Dit.

My main difficulty arises from my ignorance about the names by which the dominant clans, the *tut* or *diel*, in many tribes are called (e.g., I do not know the names of the founders, nor can I trace the descent of the dominant elements, in such tribes as the Dok, Lɔk, Nyuong, Jagei, Lak, Bul, etc.). In the case of the Lɛk and the Dok-tribes, which I visited on my first trip to Nuerland, I had unfortunately not formulated the problem of clan descent clearly enough to direct enquiry into it, since I was still shaking myself free from the shackles which a wrongly conceived notion of the *ciong* had fastened upon me. Hence it is rather by analogy than research that I conclude that the *diel* of the Gaawär tribe are the GAAWĀR clan. Often it would seem that the birth name of the founder of a clan or lineage has not been chosen as the title of his descendants, but that they have called themselves after his bullock name. Thus, while one of the major lineages of the JINACA is called GAATBAL after their ancestor Bal, his brother Dak's lineage is called RUMJOK after his bullock name. It is possible that the third brother, Nyaang, is really a bullock name and that his birth name was Liek or Lik, since these descendants are known as GAALIEK (*gaat Liek*—children of Liek or Lik). The lineage of the GAAJAK among the Jekany is doubtless called after the bullock name of their ancestor Mathiang, though this, too, has the appearance of a bullock name (*ma jak* is a bullock with a brown rump, *ma thiang* is a bullock coloured like the thiang). The Lou lineage of NYARKWAC is called after the bullock name of its founder Bang, his bullock being spotted like a leopard (*kwac*) and noted for the manner in which it strutted about sedately (*thak ma jale ajarweyar*). MACOK, another Lou lineage, though not a *diel* lineage, is so called because the favourite bullock of its founder was so restless that it had to have its legs bound with cord (*cok*). It is not possible, however, to say with certainty that because a lineage has a bullock name that this was necessarily the bullock name of its founder. It may have been his proper birth name, or it may have been the name of a cow which suckled him, or it may have

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been the name of a bullock which formed part of the bride-wealth with which his mother was married. Thus I have heard a Nuer suggest that Thiang was *thak me ca kuen man* (the bullock by which his (the lineage founder) mother was married). It is seldom that the Nuer are certain about the origin of such names. The question is, however, one of philological rather than sociological importance. Often I can offer no explanation of the meaning of a lineage cognomen, e.g., the lineages of GAAGWANG and GAAGWONG (*gaat gwang* and *gaat gwong*) among the Jekany. Miss Huffman gives *gwong* for hedgehog and *gwong* for guinea fowl and *gwang* for axillary or sound of fish in water, but none of these meanings give a clue to the origin of the lineage names. Jackson (pp. 75–76) suggests the origin of the name Gwang by reference to the Kir cycle of myths and his account of Nuer names in general will give an idea of the innumerable incidents which determine the birth names of Nuer (pp. 171–173). Of Gwang he writes :—

> " On the death of Kir, Madjok was appointed by his father as head of the tribe and given the hereditary leopard skin, without which no case of killing can be tried. Matiung and Kunjokjak decided privately not to accept Madjok as their chieftain, but to deprive him of the guardianship of the sacred spear. . . . When this agreement was come to Madjok was outside looking after the cattle, but on his return he at once divined that something was wrong. He spoke to his relations and was greeted with the remark that he was from henceforth of no more account and had been deprived of the leopard skin and sacred spear. . . . His wife shortly afterwards gave birth to a boy named Gwang, i.e., the secret plot." (pp. 75-76.)

I cannot corroborate this tale, but it is a good example of the way in which a Nuer gets his birth name, which then becomes the cognomen of his lineage. It will be noticed in my paper that sometimes lineages are called after women and this is generally evident from the feminine prefix *nya*. I defer discussion on this feature till a paper on Nuer kinship in which setting it will be more easily explained.

What exactly is meant by lineage and clan? One thing is fairly certain, namely, that the Nuer does not think in group abstractions called clans. In fact, as far as I am aware, he has no word meaning clan and you cannot ask a man an equivalent of " What is your clan? "

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614 as you can ask a Zande, for example, "*Ngbwatungaro nga da?*" You
[196] get at his clan by degrees, if you get at it at all, by asking a man what is his *thok mac* or *thok dwiel* (the hearth of his fire or the entrance to his hut). In my experience the latter expression is the more common and I will use it here. The reader will observe that it is analogous in its literal and extended meanings to the Arabic *khashm el bet*. A man's *thok dwiel* are all those persons of either sex who can trace their descent through males exclusively to a common ancestor. *Thok dwiel* is, therefore, a relative term since its extension depends on the particular person who is selected as the point of departure. Thus if we begin with the father then the *thok dwiel* will include only sons and daughters, but if we take the grandfather as our point of departure it will include all his sons and daughters and the children of his sons. A larger and larger number of agnates (persons related through the male line exclusively) will be included in the term *thok dwiel* the higher up the line of ascent we take the point of departure. Now the Nuer does not generally, if ever, refer to the group of father and children as a *thok dwiel*. These people, together with the mothers, form so obviously a family and household (*gol*). *Thok dwiel* of a man means essentially his father's kinsman and the only question is how far back the Nuer goes up the line of ascent before he hits on an ancestor whose descendants in the male line he includes in his notion of kin. The answer to this question is complicated since there is no invariable rule in the matter and since the notion of kin is relative, more people being included in some contexts than in others by the same speaker.

613 Thus in diagram No. IV W, X, Y, and Z are four sons of S and they sleep in their father's kraal and form part of his family and household (*gol*). Many years later we return to their country and we find that S is long since dead and that his sons, W, X, Y, and Z, have each a family of their own. We may now speak of W, X, Y, and Z, with their sons and daughters as forming a *thok dwiel*, which would be called after S, their common ascendant. In the terminology employed in this paper we would speak of the lineage of S since we are using the term lineage to denote the unilateral group of agnatic kin which the Nuer calls his *thok dwiel*. If you ask any member of this line of descent from S what is his lineage, he will reply that he belongs to the house (*rieng*) of S. Here again it is necessary to re-emphasise that in saying that he belongs

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to *ciang* S, he is using the term for "house" or "home" or "village" in the sense of "lineage" or "genealogical relationship through the father." Hence the fact that a man tells you that he belongs to *ciang* S does not prove that he is descended from S since it may merely imply, as explained earlier in this essay, that he is now living in the same village as the descendants of S. If you wish to make quite certain whether he means that he is descended from S or is merely a member of the locality of his descendants it is advisable to ask subsidiary questions to establish his descent beyond all doubt. Thus, if a man tells you that he is a member of *ciang* S in answer to your question, "What is your *thok dwiel*?" you can then ask him whether the line of descent through males from S is his true lineage (*thok dwillun pawy*) or whether his family are of different descent and have simply aggregated themselves to the lineage from S. You try to establish his real origin (*kuachien*—their reeds or clan origins).

Hence one's questions take something like the following order :—

Cou coal ndi?	What is your name?
Cou coal a Nhial	My name is Nhial.
a jin ram ciang nga?	What is your village?
ghan ran ciang Muot Dit ...	I come from Muot Dit village.
wecdun a wec nga?	Which is your cattle camp?
wecda a wec Titcuong	My camp is the camp of Titcuong.
a jin gai nga?	Who is your father?
ghan gai Titcuong	My father is Titcuong.
thok dwillun a mith?	Which is your lineage?
thok dwillun a Ciang Rue ...	Our lineage is the RUE lineage.
Ciang Rue bebdiew coulebi? ...	What is the lineage of which the RUE lineage forms part?
bebdiew a ciang Nyajekany ...	They form a lineage of the NYAJEKANY lineage.
Ciang Rue a thok dwillun pawy?	Is the RUE lineage your real lineage?

In the sense in which we speak of "the S lineage" (the lineage from S), his brothers R, T, U, and V, and their descendants are excluded from it. On the other hand, R, T, U, and V, and their descendants are all of the same lineage as S if we take as our point of departure for denominating the lineage an ancestor higher up the line of ascent than S. In point of fact our Nuer (let us suppose he is a son of Z) would be unlikely to give

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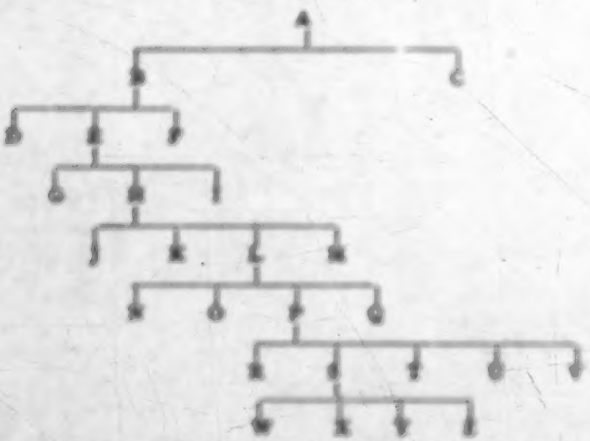
6/3 his lineage from S since S is only his grandfather. He might do so, but he would be more likely to choose someone higher up in ascent. Thus, if he says that he is a member of the lineage of P then he counts in his lineage all the descendants of R, S, T, U, and V, through the male line (i.e., themselves, their sons and daughters and their sons' sons and daughters). If he says that he is a member of the *thok dwiel* of L then he includes all the descendants of N, O, P, and Q, through the male line, in his lineage.

Diagram No. IV.



(All the persons represented on this diagram are males)

Seen diagrammatically this seems a very simple exposition, but it is hard to understand when one is living among the Nuer. This is chiefly due to the fact that the Nuer make use of a word like *diang* or *thok dwiel* to describe a number of things which we need to distinguish more precisely by use of varied terminology, but it is also due to difficulty in grasping the intricacies of the Nuer genealogical system. Nuer usages are easier to understand if English terms are employed to describe social groups instead of native terms and if the essential characters of the lineage are constantly borne in mind. A lineage is a group of agnates, i.e., everyone descended through the male line from a given individual. A man cannot, therefore, be a member of his mother's lineage.[1] A woman

[1] Except when a woman founds a *line of descent*, a feature not dealt with in this paper. Even then descent is traced through males to the ancestress of the lineage.

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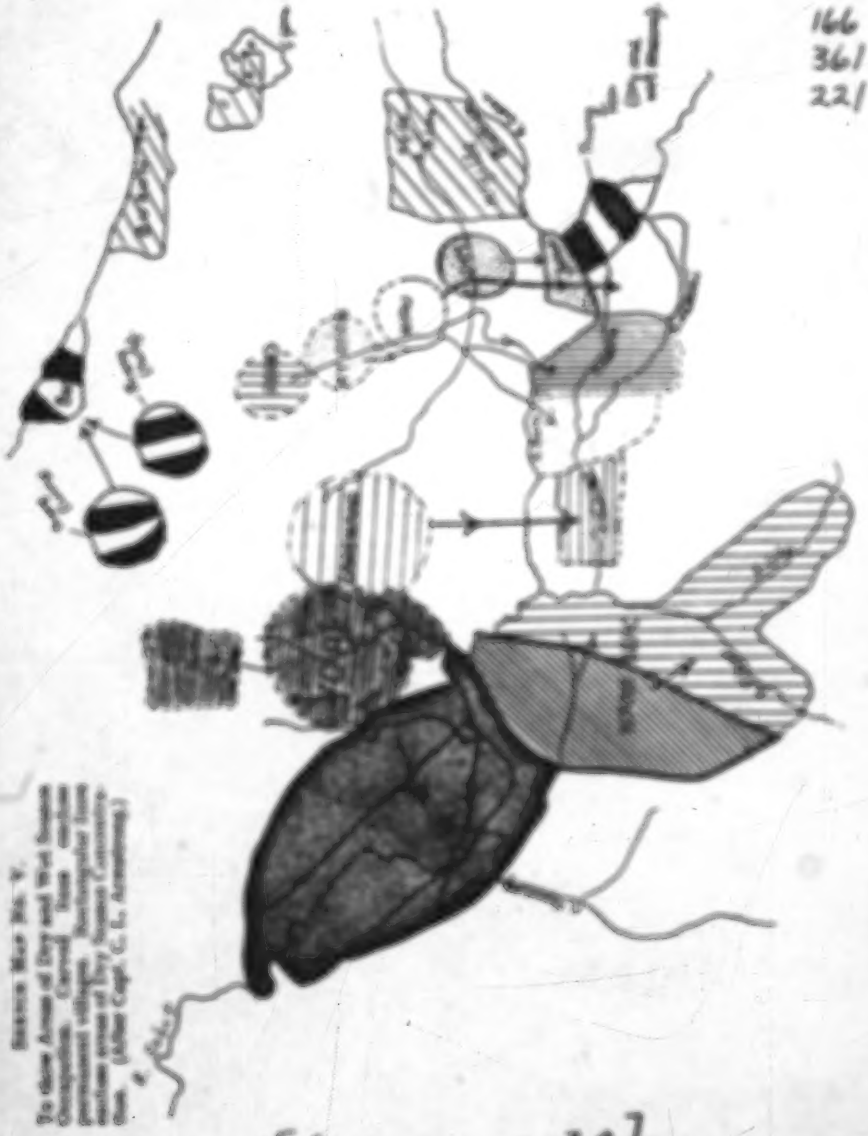

Sketch Map No. V.
To show Areas of Dry and Wet Season Occupation. (Dotted lines indicate permanent villages. Rectangular lines indicate areas of Dry Season Cattle-Camps.)
(After Capt. C. L. Armstrong.)

[facing p. 30]

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613 is a member of her father's lineage, but her children are of her husband's lineage, hence a woman and her children belong to different lineages—*mulier est finis familiæ*. A lineage, moreover, is not a loose group of people with mutual but undifferentiated relationship, each member extending to all the other members a vague preferential treatment, as is the case with many African clans, but it is a compact group of persons the relationship of any one of whom is different to each other member of the lineage. The exact genealogical position of each member of a lineage in respect to each other member is easily traceable in the network of its genealogical system. Thus, two men, whom we will call A and B, are any two members of the same lineage, but A is not simply B's fellow clansman, his lineal peer, but is related to him by a succession of steps which can be followed by anyone familiar with the ascent of both, i.e., A is perhaps B's father's father's father's brother's son's son's son. We must remember, besides, about the Nuer lineages that many of their members appear by adoption and not by birth and it will be explained later how Dinka captives are incorporated into Nuer lineages by adoption. Lastly, we have to stress the fact that a lineage is always a relative term since it depends upon how far up the line of ascent the ancestor, from whom all members of the lineage are descended, is chosen. Hence, two 617 lineages which are separate and opposite in relation to each other are 618 single and composite in relation to a third. Every male Nuer is (1) a member of his father's lineage, and (2) the potential founder of a lineage of his own. In fact, however, not every Nuer reaches the dignity of being regarded after his death as the founder of their lineage by his descendants and they will not necessarily call their village after his name. Here and there in a group of brothers and cousins one man or one line of descent proves dominant and gives his name to the village in which they all live. The descendants of his brothers and cousins as well as quite unrelated people who have come to live in that village now speak of themselves as members of *cieng* so-and-so and owing to the tendency, which I have already noticed, for the kin who live together to become identified with the village in which they live, all villagers tend to speak as though they have a common lineage even when their claims are quite fictitious. In the case of descendants of brothers of the man after whom the village is called there is, however, a definite merging of the kin into one lineage. In this situation the brothers are regarded

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613 614 as though they were equivalent. Many collateral lines are lost by this process of merging in which they come to regard one of their ancestors as though he was the common ancestor of them all.

I shall refer in this paper to major lineages and minor lines. A certain degree of latitude must attach to these expressions since it is impossible, owing to their variations, to use them with complete precision. By minor lineage I mean the ancestor to whom the Nuer refers in answer to your question, what is his *thok dwiel*, i.e., the first descendant in their common line of descent to whom a large number of families refer as their common ancestor and whose name is the name after which their village or district is called. Thus a large number of families in the Lou tribe will tell you, if you ask them what is the name of their *thok dwiel*, that they are members of a *cieng* Pual (in this sense meaning that they are members of the Pual lineage). Some of the families may sometimes speak of themselves as members of a lineage called after some ancestor nearer to them than Pual, but this is generally because in the special context in which they are speaking they are contrasting their section of Pual lineage with another section. On the whole, the normal designation for all these families is *cieng* Pual and the first emphasis placed upon any ancestor by present-day Nuer of these families is placed upon Pual. By major lineage I mean a larger lineage of which a minor lineage forms only one line of descent among other lines of descent from the same ancestor. Thus Pual is not only the founder and highest ancestor of the lineage called after him, but he is himself the descendant of another lineage. Having discovered that your informant is really a member of Pual lineage (*see* diagrams Nos. V and VII) and is not merely a man of different descent living among them in their village you can ask him what is the *bak* of *cieng* Pual, i.e., what is the greater lineage from which the Pual lineage springs. Your informant will reply that the Pual lineage forms a section of the Gaatbal lineage and this is what I shall call the major lineage. You can continue to question your informant along these lines by asking him what is the *bak* (the greater lineage) to which the major lineage of the Gaatbal belongs, what is the trunk, as it were, out of which this branch grows. In this particular case your informant will tell you that the Gaatbal are children of Dengc, the founder of the clan of the Jikaca, but in other cases, your informant may give you a further major lineage before he reaches the clan or main trunk

Diagram No. V.
Tree of Descent of GAATJACA Lineage.

[facing p. 32]

Diagram No. VI.
Tree of Descent of GAAT GAN KUR Lineage.

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from which the different lineages branch out. Similarly, he might have given you a smaller minor lineage before giving you *along* PUAL in answer to your first question, what is his *thok dwiel*; *e.g.* he might have said that he was a member of the KWAJTH or MALUAL lineages (shown in the accompanying tree, diagram No. V). Each lineage is a branch in relation to the twigs which shoot out from it, but is a twig of the larger branch from which it sprang. The following two types of descent are appended to illustrate graphically the Nuer system of lineages. One represents a JIKACA (Lou tribe) lineage and the other a GAT GAK KIIR (Jekany tribe) lineage. In each diagram only one line of descent is shown from the roots to the twigs, from the clan ancestor to the families of to-day, but the other main branches and boughs, the other major and minor lineages, are indicated where they leave the stem.

These trees and genealogical tables may be compared with the maps (Nos. III, IV, and V) which show the distribution of tribal sections among the Lou tribe and the Eastern Jekany tribes.

The descendants of Nyaang, son of Dimar, form the nucleus of the Gaatlial primary section; the descendants of Bul, sons of Dimar, form the nucleus of the Gaatlial primary section; the descendants of Dak, son of Dimar, form the nucleus of the Ramjok primary section. The only sections shown on the map which are not accounted for in the genealogical tree and table are the Jaajwak and Jimac sections which have clan nuclei of foreign origin.

We must guard against thinking that because most of the Lou primary sections are called after sons of Dimar that they are solely composed of these lineages. This would be a serious error, as in all probability true descendants from Dimar in these sections are in a small minority. Large foreign lineages are included in the areas designated by a title taken from any of the sons of Dimar (e.g., the TEANG lineage in the Gaatlial primary section) and there are innumerable families of stranger (Nuer) and Dinka descent clustered around families of true GAATHAKA origin. Thus, if one visits the villages or cattle camps owned by minor lineages which spring from the GAATLIAL major lineage, the lineages of LIBERCOOLA, NYAANDIT, KUOTH, one will find them occupied by a relatively small number of members of these lineages while most of the residents will be found to have sprung from other Nuer and Dinka clans.

[See paras pp. 10, 18, 30, Category IIA. -- Analyst]

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565 614 619 The descendants of Majok Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajok tribe; the descendants of Mathiang Kiir and Kun Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajak tribe; the descendants of Gwang Majok and Nyang Mathiang form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaagwang tribe. Thus, on map No. V, these lineages are shown as tribal sections, i.e., they have given their names to the tribal sections which have aggregated to them. Here the three main lineages descended from Majok, LAANG, YOL, and WANGKAC, are shown as Laang, Yol, and Wangkac. None of the foreign lineages is of sufficient magnitude to be shown separately, but it must not be supposed for this reason that the descendants of Majok form anything but a fragment of the Gaajok tribe. In the same way the Gaagwang tribe comprises all sorts of foreign elements besides the descendants of Nyang Mathiang[1] and Gwang Majok. The same applies to the Gaajak tribe. As far as my information goes the GAA(T)GWONG lineage are completely united in tribal life with the GAA(T)JAK lineage and so are classified as forming part of the same Gaatjak tribe. In the map the primary sections of Leny, Kang and Tar are all called after descendants of Mathiang and the primary sections of Nyuyan, Cany and Wan are all called after descendants of Kun. Hence, in map V, the only section not accounted for in diagram No. VIII is the primary section of Rang,[2] the nucleus of whom are of mixed foreign origin.

619 [882] The clan is the largest lineage which consider themselves as one for purposes of exogamy. This is the minimum definition of a clan. In theory the clan preserves the same form as the smaller lineages which comprise it because it is supposed to be possible to trace the exact genealogical relationship of any member of the clan to any other member of it. Doubtless this can generally be done by a panel of competent genealogists, but most Nuer tend to confusion in the upper stages of ascent and either miss out or misplace names between the ancestor of their clan and the founder of their minor lineage. In consequence of this confusion which is associated with the social functions of clan and lineage there is a tendency for clansmen who do not also belong to the same minor lineage to have an undifferentiated relationship to one another, recognising their kinship to one another through common membership of a social group rather than by genealogical relationship. Hence they tend to recognise

[1] Nyang was the youngest son of Mathiang, but as he was born of one of Kir's wives he is correctly a son of Kir.

[2] I believe that Rang is the bullock-name of Gying, the founder of the most important clan lineage in the Rang primary section of the Gaajak tribe. One of the secondary sections of this tribe is called Dhiithiang which is, I think, a bullock-name of Biruk, son of Gying.

[See spring p. 80, category 116.--Analyst]

[See previous p. 36.--Analyst]

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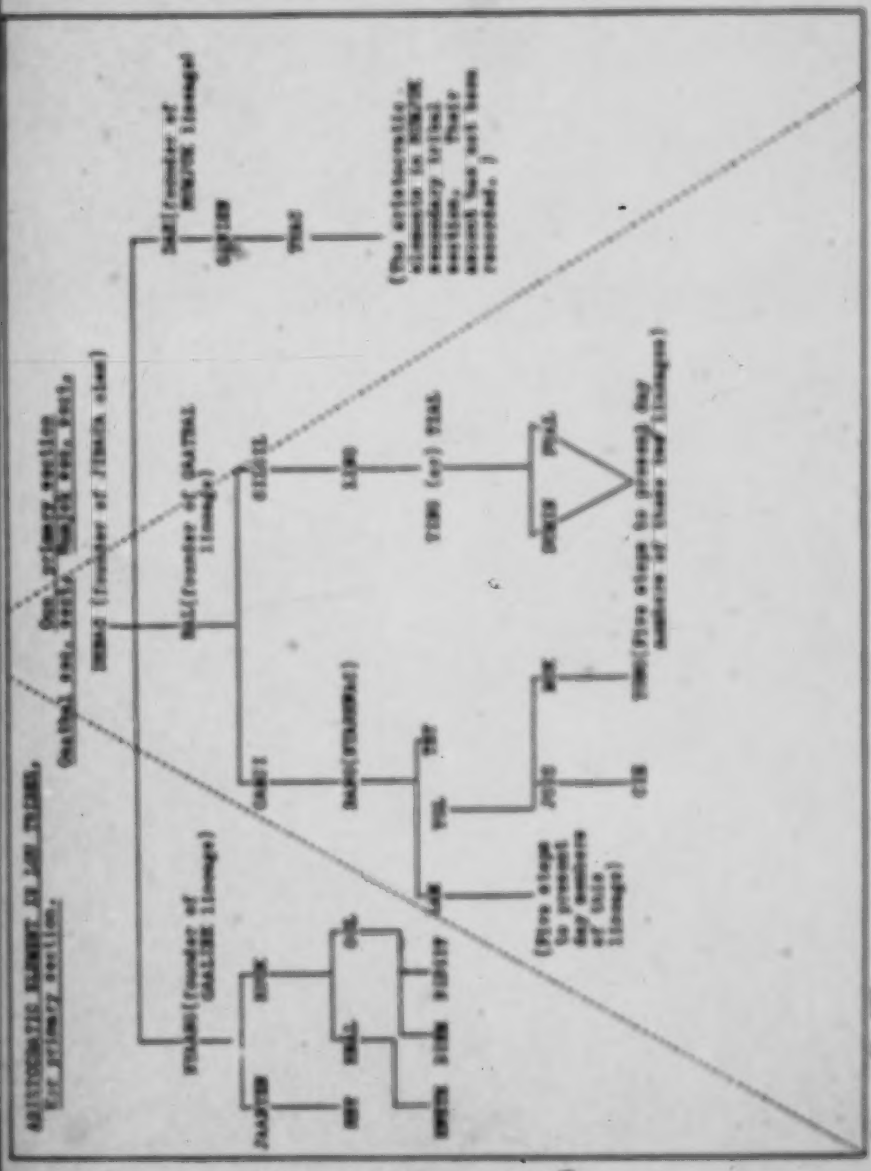

Diagram No. VII.

[facing p. 34]

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their common kinship by a common sentiment towards the clan name and ritual symbols and by the prohibition of marriage between their families. But when they belong to the same minor lineage they recognize their kinship by awareness of the exact relationship in which they stand to one another in the genealogical system. Nevertheless any competent Nuer genealogist can, if pressed, produce a good table of genealogical descent to the founder of his clan with the result that it is possible, even in such a huge clan as the GAT GAR KIR of the Jokany tribes, to place every single clansman and clanswoman on a single genealogical chart showing their genealogical descent from Kir and, therefore, the genealogical relationship of any clansman to any other clansman. Such a chart would not be likely to embody a correct genealogy, but it would be recognized by the Nuer as being substantially correct.

Consequently one cannot say that relationship ends with the clan or that it is the largest of Nuer lineages, but we have to define it as the largest exogamous lineage. For the common ancestor of most Nuer clans is the same person. Jackson has given a very good account of the way in which the Nuer clans are part of a related system which I propose to call the Family of Nuer Clans. It is necessary to say that it is not at all clear from Jackson's or other accounts, including my own notes, how this family of clans are inter-related. It is particularly a problem which requires detailed research among the "Homeland Nuer" to the west of the Nile. One of the reasons why it is difficult to draw more than an approximate tree of the Family of Nuer Clans is the confusion which has always existed between the tribe and the clan, with the inevitable result that when we are told that Lou or Leik are sons of such-and-such an ancestor we are helpless, since tribesmen of Lou and Leik form political aggregates of composite ancestry and cannot possibly have common ancestors. What is meant is that the dominant clan element of the tribe are the sons *of* the such-and-such an ancestor, but as his true of descent is not given it is difficult to proceed upon such a supposition.

I will condense here the main discoveries of Mr. Jackson in this field, together with the writings of the late Capt. Ferguson and notes taken by myself. There figure in all accounts certain mythical persons who link the ancestors of the Nuer clans to Kwoth, God, who made them and from whom they are directly descended. In this essay the first persons we need notice are Gee and Glunk, two brothers who are possibly to be

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
Nuer

L/4 J73 775 regarded as historical personages. According to Jackson's account, from A'ak (his spelling for Ghaak) are sprung Nyong, Dok, Jalak, Gwet (Beig (God) Quaich)[1] (spellings in this paper are Nyoong, Dok, Jalak, Kwe, Beegh, Gaatkwac, for these tribes) and from Ge's (Jackson's spelling of Gee) are sprung Bor,[2] Lang,[2] Ruiyang,[2] Wott,[2], Rur,[2] Bull, Leig,[2] Lak,[2] Tiang,[2] Lau,[2] Kelelwai[2] (spellings in this paper are Bir, Ling, Rengyan, Wot, Rir, Bul, Lek, Lak, Thiang, Lou, Kielual, for these tribes). All the Nuer clans, with few exceptions, fit into this family. It is not at all clear, however, from Jackson's account who are the ancestors of many of the clans he lists, since he speaks of tribes as though they were clans. And, indeed, the Nuer himself often speaks in the same manner, identifying linguistically the tribe with the dominant clan element of the area in which it lives. Thus they may speak of Lou as being descended from Dimar when what they mean is that the dominant clan of Lou country are descendants from Dimar. It is, therefore, impossible at present to draw up a genealogical table which will show the descent of all the Nuer clans who spring from Gee and his brother. On the eastern side of the Nile, among the Lou, at any rate, one only hears of Gee and not of his brother. In this tribe people speak as though you were either a pure Nuer descended ultimately from Gee or a Dinka or a descendant of Wir or Kir.

Kir, the founder of the Gat Gaa Kir, who form the nucleus of the Jikany tribe, was, according to all accounts, found in a gourd by the Ngok Dinka and was brought up by them. He later married three daughters of Gee by whom he gave birth to the major lineages of his clan, the Gaajok, the three Gaajak, and the Gaacwong. The Gat Gaa Kir clan is, therefore, attached through its mothers to the lineage of Gee.

All accounts equally agree in saying that Wir, the ancestor of the Gaawir clan, who are, presumably, the dominant element in the Gaawir tribe, fell down from heaven. Jackson says that he was brought up by A'ak and that his descendants are considered to have attached themselves to the Ghaak division of the Nuer nation.

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[1] Jackson says that Beig and Quaich belong to A'ak, but he does not give it as their ancestor in the following genealogical table in his genealogical notes, at pp. 77 and 78.

[2] All born of the same mother. All were Jaath tribes.

[3] Wott, Bull and Tiang are three sons of one mother. Wott is the ancestor of Ruiyang and Lou and Bull the ancestor of Kielual, Leig and Lak.

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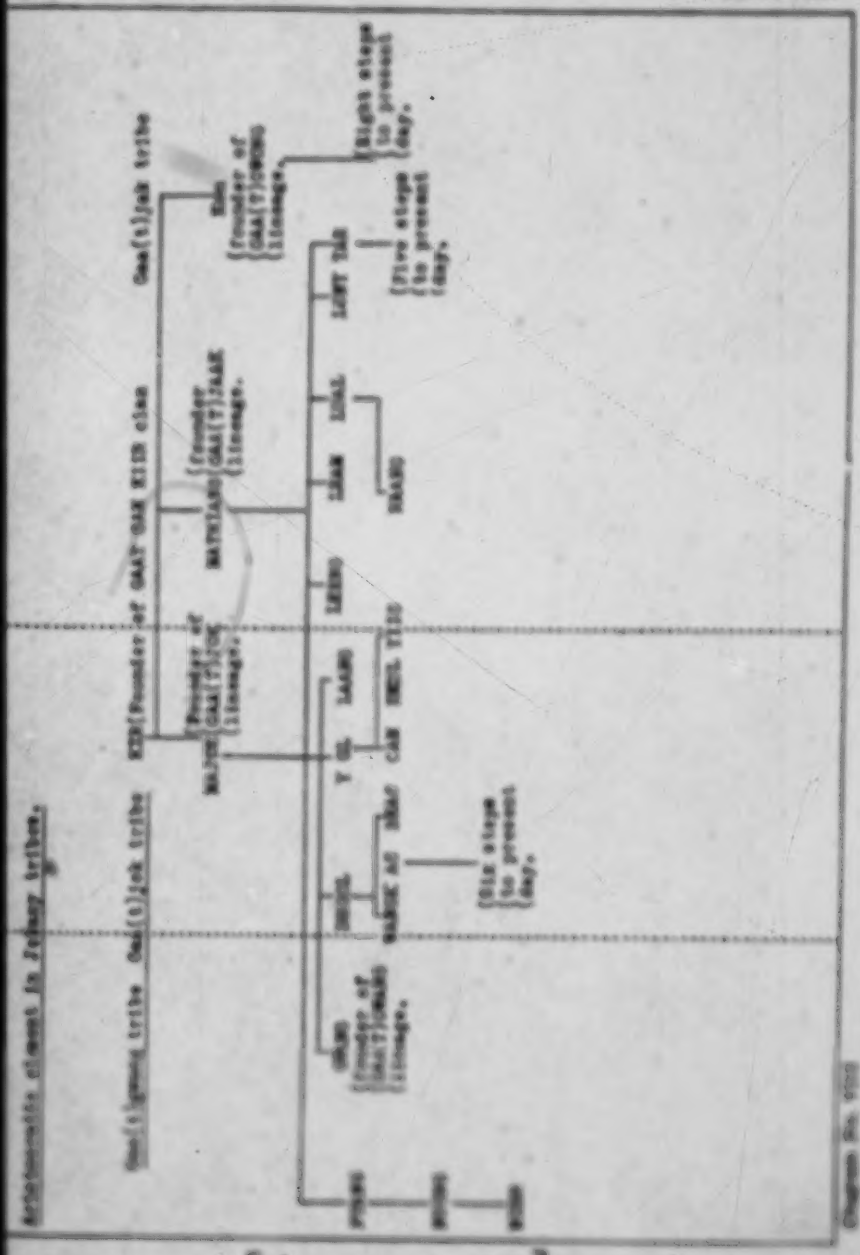

[facing p. 36]

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The ancestor of the JIKUL clan is also said to have fallen down from heaven, and Jackson says that he was fostered by Gaw to whose division his descendants considered themselves attached. Nowhere do they form a dominant clan element in a tribe but are scattered among many tribes.

The late Capt. Ferguson speaks of these two national divisions as Ghraark and Gair. On the western bank Ghraark are Nuong, Adok, and Gwai; and Gair are Bul, Lake, Jokaing, Bur, Naijh, Wad, and Leng.[1]

Considering the confusion which has existed between clan and tribe, Jackson's classification into the Gaw and Ghaak[2] groups cannot be regarded as exact though it may well be conventional. I was given a somewhat similar division myself by a man from the west bank of the Nile. But it appears at first sight that there are two pertinent criticisms of the classification. In the first place several clans are obviously missing, e.g., JIKEY and JIKUK. In the second place it is doubtful what line of descent is reckoned when speaking of a tribe as descended from Gaw or Ghaak, e.g., the Lak tribe apparently comprises two main lineages, *gaat nwot* Dok, children of Dok aristocrats, and *gaat nya* Lagni, children of Lak aristocrats through the female line and of doubtful parentage through the male line. Whilst, even if this is correct, they would both belong to the Gaw group of clans in a conventional grouping it is of some importance to know their exact mode of descent.[3] Under the circumstances we can only make a conventional classification which is a mixture of clan and tribal units and wait till further research elucidates the true state of affairs. It is possible that the Family of Water Clans is correctly described in confused and hazy terms, since it may well be conceived by the Nuer without logical system. For it may be pointed out that errors are often not the fault of observers like Jackson or myself but are due to the hazy notions which the Nuer themselves have about their ancestry, at any rate on collateral lines. Thus one well-informed man told me that the aristocratic lineages of Lou, Rengyon, and Thiang tribes are all descended from Dimar by his three

[1] Unpublished Government report.

[2] Besides A'ak (Jackson) and Ghaak I have heard the name Gwan, and one old man said that there were three brothers, Gaw, Ghaak, and Gwan—Ghaak producing the aristocratic lineages in Rier, Jokah, Bangir ororithin, and Gwan producing the aristocratic lineages in Dok, Nyuong, Gaadriver, and Bul ororithin.

[3] One informant, Tot, said that the Gaawar tribe count as belonging to the Ghaak group and the Lak tribe as belonging to the Gaw group, though it is difficult to know exactly what he meant.

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619 some Bany (bull/ox) name *ma lwi*), Yini (bull/ox) name *ma rengyan*) and
614 Thiang, a genealogy which differs from those already given in this paper. Only detailed research by several observers in different areas can finally solve the problems, for solutions cannot be deduced satisfactorily from our present data.

In our account of the tribe we explained how a continual process of fission is going on and how when we speak of a tribe we are using a relative term, since it is difficult to know whether we should speak of a single tribe with moieties or of two separate tribes. Exactly the same process of segmentation is going on within the clan, since a tribe is a political aggregation round a clan or clan lineage. Thus the clan, like its political superstructure the tribe, is also going through a constant process of integration and segmentation. Division into lineages here corresponds with territorial division into tribal sections. Our statement that the larger the territorial area covered by a tribe or a tribal segment the weaker its cohesion finds its kinship counterpart in the tendency for the solidarity of a lineage to weaken the more it expands. Weakening bonds of kinship re-enforce special division in destroying communal interests in tribal life just as special division re-enforces widening kinship breaches in undermining community of blood. For example, the division of the Lou into two moieties of Mor and Gun is not simply a political and special division but is also a kinship cleavage between the descendants of three sons of Dimar, Nyang, Duk and Bul, or to state the position in other terms, the division between the sons of Nyang, Duk, and Bul is not simply a creation of genealogical distance but also of political and special distance.

619 The clan itself has practically no social cohesion; a major lineage
614 has greater cohesion than the clan of which it forms part but less cohesion
621 than one of the minor lineages into which it is divided. A minor lineage has great solidarity as has the village or district which represents the minor lineage with its political aggregate clustered around it. Here close ties of blood are backed up by community of daily life. Thus the Gaf Nata display little communal feeling in their social behaviour, the major lineage of Gaatbar, on the contrary, owing to their cohesion, their common political and economic interests, and their close kinship bonds, show a much stronger tendency to regard themselves as a distinct social group.

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A minor lineage like the PUAL lineage of the GAATHAL are a community really well knit by common residence and blood who lead a common economic, political and social life. If one takes a smaller lineage still, like the MIN lineage (see diagram No. V), one reaches the strongest unilateral unit in Nuer society, a unit whose members herd their cattle by communal arrangements; who build their huts contiguously and cultivate gardens side by side; who act as a blood revenge group in case of the homicide of one of their kin; who assist one another in providing cattle for marriage or homicide payments; who act as assistants at all important ceremonies; and who in general co-operate as a mutual assistance society for all purposes of social insurance. At least this is how I understand the relative cohesion of clan segments, though I feel that there is a leaning towards theoretical conclusions not adequately supported by a strong foundation of facts in my presentation.

The difference between kinship groups and political groups and their interwoven structures may now be demonstrated by a simple diagram though our definitions of groups are too elastic to permit an exact correlation between kinship and political units.

Diagram No. IX.

Clan = aggregate of lineages ... ... = Tribe.

Major Clan lineage = aggregate of lineages = { Primary tribal section.

Minor " " " " = { Secondary tribal section. Tertiary tribal section.

We have the same difficulty in deciding in some cases whether to speak of two clans or of one clan with two major lineages as we had in deciding whether to speak of two tribes or one tribe with two sections. Thus the JIKANY are descended from DENGE or NAC. So also are the RAYNJAR and perhaps also the THANY[1]. All these people are therefore JIKANY, the people of NAC. Are we, therefore, to speak of them as one clan or as three clans? In other words, can a man of the LOU JIKANY marry a woman from the RENGYOR JIKANY? At present I have no means of deciding this question since LOU and RENGYOR are so far apart that normally the question of intermarriage would not arise. It is impossible even to express an opinion on the matter until we know something about the genealogies of the RENGYOR JIKANY. If they belong to the same major lineages as the LOU JIKANY, namely the lineages of GAAJIER, ROWYOR and GAATHEL, we

[1] I write RENGYOR and THANY in capitals, though correctly speaking I suppose we should write the JIKANY of RENGYOR and THANY tribes.

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619 may safely regard them as one clan. This is possibly the case, since the Lou Jikaca left their homes in Rengyan to conquer their present tribal area. On the other hand they may represent a distinct line of descent from Dimar. There is not the same certainty as there is for the history of the children of Kir, a part of whom journeyed from their home on the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the tribal areas of the Eastern Jikany. The Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwong and Gaagwang major lineages are found both among the Eastern Jikany and the Western Jikany, and they still belong to one clan, since a man of the Eastern Gaajok lineage may not marry a woman of the Western Gaajak or Gaagwong lineages. It is possible that in time the Gaajok lineage of the Gat Gan Kir clan will split away from the Gaajak lineage and that two separate clans will be formed by fission. The Nuer themselves speak as though this may happen since they say that a Gaajok man may "not yet" marry a Gaajak woman. "*Ngate thinke*," "they are still close" (in relationship), say the Nuer, suggesting that it will one day be possible, a suggestion in keeping with their acceptance of a scheme of clans all ultimately descended from Gaa. I have found that informants lay great stress on the fact that Gaa bisected a bullock and then enabled the clans descended from him to intermarry whereas Kir did not perform similar ritual, with the result that intermarriage between the clans descended from him is prohibited. Nevertheless I cannot produce a pure example of clans splitting into two or more exogamous lineages. Even when political fission takes place as between the Gaajok and the Gaajak the clan maintains its unity, and a Gaajok man and a Gaajak man are still members of a single exogamous clan.

IV.

691 All tribesmen live in the same country. A man may emigrate to
619 another country, but if he settles there he and his children become
619 members of the tribe among whom he has settled. When we speak of the Lou and Rengyan we speak of the people who live in Lou and Rengyan countries. Clansmen on the other hand do not all live in the same country, the great majority of them may do so but not all of them. Thus probably the majority of Jikaca live in Lou country and Rengyan country, but by no means all of themselves there. Many Jikaca live scattered among other tribes. Moreover the number of Jikaca clansmen who live

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in Lou country and Rengyan country forms only a small proportion of the total population of Lou and Rengyan tribesmen. Again, Gaajok country contains a dominant element of Gat Gaw Kir clansmen of Gaajok lineage, but they are dominant in the Gaajok tribe on account of their traditional ownership of the country and not on account of numerical superiority, for they probably compose only a small minority of the tribe. Also not all the Gaajok live in Gaajok country in the Eastern Jokany area, since a large part of the lineage live in the Gaajok primary tribal section of the Jokany tribe to the west of the Nile and smaller lineages of the Gaajok are scattered throughout most, if not all, Nuer tribes. The Gaajok form an excellent illustration of this difference between clan and tribe, since the Gaajok of the Eastern Jokany and the Gaajok of the Western Jokany cannot obviously be fellow tribesmen on account of the vast area which separates their countries and since they never act together in any collective undertaking. On the other hand they are equally descended from Majok the son of Kir and hence are all members of the same lineage of the same clan. For this reason they are all brothers and sisters and forbidden to intermarry.

But though the clan is not a territorial group nevertheless many clans are largely localised. Thus the descendants of Mathiang are mainly living in the two countries of Eastern and Western Gaajok. The descendants of Nac are mainly living in Lou and Rengyan countries, and the descendants of Wir are, I presume, mainly living in Gaawir country. But this by no means holds for all clans. There is no tribal area in which the Jinaca mainly live or in which they have the position of owners of the soil, but they are scattered far and wide throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland. The same is true of the Kir, Jikiey, Bedi and Jikiu, and a number of other clans.

When a clan is mainly localised in one tribal area it forms an aristocratic element there. The Jinaca of Lou country lived originally with the Jinaca of Rengyan country, but they split off from them and conquered Lou country from the Dinka. Here they were the first occupants, or more correctly the strongest element among the first occupants, and became "owners" of the country. Any other clansmen who came to live in Lou tribal area had to attach themselves on to the Jinaca. The Gat Gaw Kir clan moved from their homeland to the west of the Nile and conquered the land, which they own to-day, on the eastern side of the

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Nile, from the Dinka, and settled there as lords of the country. I think that it will probably be correct to say that every Nuer tribal area has its *diel* (sing.*dil*) clan owners, aristocrats, dominant element, but that not every clan has an area in which they are *diel*. There are possibly countries on the west bank of the Nile in which more than one clan rank as *diel*. Though it has not been recorded that such a system exists among the Dinka it is worth mentioning that the Nuer tell one that the Dinka also speak of *diel* in their various tribes, e.g., they talk of *dil thoini* and *dil lueiw*, members of the clans which own Thoc and Loac tribal areas respectively.

The great point to remember about Nuer *diel* is that a man is a *dil* only in the country owned by his clan. Thus a member of the JIKACA or GAATHACA is a *dil lieke*, that is to say, that he is a *dil* in Lou country but nowhere else. If he moves to Gaajok country he ceases to be a *dil* and becomes instead a *rul* or stranger. He may still call himself a *pat dile lieke*, a Lou aristocrat, but he does not count as a *dil*, aristocrat, in Jokany countries. In the same way a *dil Jokany* is a direct descendant in the male line from Kir, but when such a man crosses Lou country he becomes a *rul* or stranger. *Dil* therefore means a member of the clan which owns the country in which he lives. Hence members of a clan such as the JIKEW or JIKUL which have no tribal territory of which they can call themselves masters are nowhere *diel*. One may nevertheless speak of a *dil* JIKEW in the sense of a "real" or "pure" member of this clan in contrast to Dinka who have attached themselves to it.

I do not wish to be misunderstood when I speak of a tribal aristocracy based on a clan predominance in a tribal area. The Nuer are intensely democratic and the idea of one man lording it over the others is abhorrent to them. However there is a prestige in being a *dil* of the country in which you live. Your clan are owners of the country, its village sites, its pastures, its fishing pools and wells, and other people live there by virtue of marriage or adoption into your lineage or because they are prepared to recognise your hereditary status and to join your local group on the understanding that they are strangers and on sufferance. It is the spear-name of your clan which is shouted when the tribe makes war. In other tribes the advantage of being an aristocrat are more concrete. Among the Eastern Jokany tribes the blood-money which is paid for a slain *dil* is apparently higher than for any other Nuer who may be killed in the same

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countries. There is some doubt about the exact organization of blood-cattle (*ruat*) in old times. This uncertainty is partly accounted for by the undoubted elasticity of assessment, for we should make a mistake in supposing that the number of cattle paid over in compensation for homicide was invariably the same or that there was a rigid definition of social status. It is also partly accounted for by the fact that the *ruat* was not identical in every Nuer tribe. The evidence seems to show that the greatest differentiation in assessment of blood-cattle between different classes in the community was to be found on the periphery of Nuer culture, among the Eastern Jikany, where the greatest absorption of foreigners has taken place. There I was given the following table of assessment for a late (probably post-European) period in their history :—

Gat dhiu Jikany (a member of the Gaat Gaar Kiir clan),
13 cows and 3 bullocks (20).

Gat Gaaka (a member of any pure Nuer clan),
12 cows and 3 bullocks (17).

Jaang dhiu (a Dinka who has permanently settled in Nuer country and has attached himself to a Nuer social group),
12 cows and 3 bullocks (16).

Jaang (a Dinka, pure and simple, who has not yet become a permanent member of Nuer society),
8 cows and 2 bullocks (11).

In the old days it appears that 40 cattle was the regular payment for homicide in the case of a member of the dominant clan in Jikany countries, and for this pre-European period I was given the following table :—

Gaat Gaar Kiir	40 cattle.
Gat Gaaka	40 cattle.
Jaang bedwi (an adopted Dinka)	20 cattle.
Jaang (Dinka—unadopted) ...	6 cattle.

There is one main discrepancy between the first and second tables. In the second a pure Nuer of any clan is classed as the same for purposes of blood-cattle as a member of the Gaat Gaar Kiir clan, while in the first he is classed lower. I was never able to make up my mind which of these two estimates—I have been given others which differ slightly from both—was the correct one since, while members of the Gaat Gaar Kiir clan in Jikany country assured me that payment for killing a member of any other Nuer clan in their country was less than for killing a member of their

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554 614 619 682 563 own clan, members of these other clans, who have count as *rul* or strangers, assured me that payments in both cases were equal. Assessors on both sides were clearly coloured by recent practice which has been based on government rulings at different times and by what regulations they hoped the Government would institute in the future. On the whole I consider that there was probably a differentiation between members of the dominant clan and members of other clans, but that the differentiation was not rigid and depended upon the special circumstances of each case, when length of residence in the country, marriage alliances with members of the dominant clan, and so on, were taken into consideration.

Quite definitely, however, there was a clear difference made between Nuer and Dinka in the assessment of blood-cattle compensation. This difference is found all over Nuer country, though there seems to have been difference of opinion in different parts of Nuerland about what constitutes a Dinka for purposes of homicide payments. Among the Lou the practice was to class members of the dominant clan, the JIKACA, and members of the other Nuer clans together and make 40 cattle (32 cows and 8 bullocks) the regular payment for both. The son of a Dinka born in Lou country was considered to have become a Nuer (see *Nuik*) and his death was also compensated for by 40 cattle; but a captured Dinka or visiting Dinka or a Dinka who had taken up his abode in the country was reckoned as a *Jaang* and was compensated by only 6 cattle (4 cows and 2 bullocks). A Dinka even when given *both* appears to have counted as *Jaang* and not as *Nuik*, but his children were reckoned as Nuer for homicide purposes. Two informants told me that in Jagei country on the west bank of the Nile compensation for homicide was reckoned as follows:—

Gat dike (member of the dominant clan in the tribe),
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).

Rul who has built his cattle-byre,
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).

Rul and *Jaang* who have not built their cattle-byre,
6 cows and 4 bullocks (10).

The point of stressing the building of a cattle-byre was that a man who built one, whether a Nuer stranger or a Dinka, had obviously come to stay and became a permanent member of your social group and a member of your village. He became "your man" (*rundu*), who owed you a kind of allegiance and who relied on your protection. Hence he is assessed on

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the same footing as an ordinary resident born into the community. On the other hand I was told by some Eastern Jekany Nuer at Nasser that once a Dinka always a Dinka was the rule, and that the children and grandchildren of Dinkas never counted as equal to pure Nuer in blood-cattle assessment. I regard this statement, however, as being, in all probability, too rigidly formulated.

The second element in a Nuer village are the *rul*. A *rul* is a stranger, one who is not a member of the *diel*, one who has no place in the lineage of the dominant clan. Such people may be more numerous than the clan itself but they have not the same hereditary status in the tribe. Sometimes their lineages compose powerful tribal sections and in these sections they form a dominant lineage of their own. They are linked by sociological ties, often mythological in form, to the *diel* of the tribe. Thus the powerful sections of Reng and Kŏng of the Gaajak tribe are not *diel* but *rul*. The Reng section is united to the genealogy of Kir by the supposition that Reng the founder of some of its lineages (Cot and Dhiilaar) was equivalent to *gat mamlew* (mother's sister's son) to Kir, his mother being a sister to the Ngok Dinka woman who nursed Kir and brought him up, while the founder of another lineage of this section, the Kŏwc, was a man called Tik, who is described in the Kir myths as having given him supernatural assistance and saved his life from avengers. The Jenac and Jaajoak clans, which give their names to two secondary tribal sections[1] of the Lou tribe, are not of the dominant Lou clan, the Jiraca, but are nuclei of two large segments which, together with the Gaaliek section, comprise the Mor moiety. Here again there is a myth which unites them to the *diel* of the tribe. Denac (Nac) is said to have had four sons, Yin, Duk, Bal and Bany, by one wife, and Nyaang and two brothers, who are nameless, by another wife. Nyaang's two brothers were killed by a strange monster, which figures often in Nuer mythology, and is known as a *lat*. When the sons of Denac went fishing the four full brothers went on their own and Nyaang by himself, for he would not accompany his brothers. Consequently when he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him as he was all by himself. When he came home he would not sit on the ground facing his father as the other sons did but sat apart by himself with his back to his father and gazing in the opposite direction. When his father asked him what was the matter with him, he replied that he was thinking of his two

[1] In the Jenac section are included the important Jaarwuth lineage who are supposed to be distantly related to the Jenac.

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554 614 619 173 773 brothers whom the *let* had eaten. His father said to him, "Never mind, take your two sisters and let them be your brothers." So in future when Nyaang went fishing he went with his sisters Nyabil and Fadwai. Nyaang is the founder of the GAALIEK lineage, Nyabil of the JEMAC lineage, Fadwei of the JAAJOAH lineage. Whenever we find large sections living as *rul* in a tribe we may expect to discover that bonds have been created between them and the *diel* by myths of the kind cited above. This mythological patent gives them a status in the tribe which is nearly equal to that of the *diel* and amounts to adoption into their kinship framework. [611] This is often accomplished in Nuer society through the kinship value of the mother's line, for although lineages are, for purposes of descent, reckoned widest through the male line and comprise only agnates in respect to the inheritance of certain clan heirlooms, nevertheless descent through the female line has powerful recognition and there is a tendency for the kinship group to take the form of an association of cognates, of men and their sons and daughters and the children of sons and daughters. When strangers come to live in the village of *diel* and marry into their families there is always a drive towards matrilocal conditions, and descent through the mother is stressed so that the lineage of the strangers' sons is traced to the mother and through her linked to the clan of *diel*. We have already cited a good example of this process in the case of the JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans who trace their descent to the name of their ancestresses while the names of their husbands have been forgotten. Nevertheless, in spite of this, they form separate exogamous groups since they cannot be members of the clan of their ancestresses. They are *gaat nyal*, children of daughters, in contrast to *gaat twot*, children of "bulls" or children of sons. However, in some respects the original daughter who gave birth to the stranger's lineage is treated as though she had been a son, as the myth about Nyaang explicitly states, so that the lineage which springs from her still grows on her own genealogical tree. In this way there is always a tendency to translate bonds of contiguity into bonds of kinship.

554 614 619 621 Not all strangers form such important lineages as the THIANG, JEMAC, JAAJOAH (Lou tribe), GAAT TIEK, GAAT REANG (Gaajak tribe). Many *rul* are members of small lineages of strangers living in the midst of other small foreign lineages all of which are aggregated around a nucleus of *gaat twot*. Thus in Lou country, among the Lou aristocratic element, the

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JIKACA, one finds many members of such clans as the JIKEK, JUAK, KIEK, KWERKOANG, in every section. These clans have no longer a wec (a home) of their own. Thus there is a story that the JIKEK once had a big wec but when some of them were absent their food was eaten by their brothers. This led to a quarrel, which resulted in the dispersal of the clan, and now, like the other clans mentioned above, they have no central homeland. There is, however, said to be a small JIKEK pocket near Lak country.

In the migration of the Nuer eastwards across the Nile there does not appear to have been any systematic colonisation, if we except the Jekany occupation of Dinkaland. Parties of warriors would raid the nearest Dinka homesteads and carry off their boys and girls and cattle. These warriors at first returned home with their spoil but later a portion of them settled down with their wives and families and built homesteads to the east of the Nile, where they were still in touch with their relatives across the river. Slowly there was a drift further and further eastwards, and whilst the bulk of the conquering warriors belonged to one clan originally there followed a steady infiltration from other clans whose members attached themselves to the original conquerors and settled among them. Also it must be presumed that before the Nuer crossed the Nile and conquered the Dinka country, which lay to the east of that river, some clans were already nuclei of political aggregation from other clans and from Dinka not unlike the aggregations which we find of the west bank of the Nile to-day. At the present time, moreover, families move freely about the country and attach themselves to new local groups into which they marry. Especially does this seem to be the case among the Western Nuer where there is a perfect jumble of small clan lineages. The link between newcomers and the lineages among which they settle is not so much the link of marriage as of descent, since the birth of a child unites the two families of husband and wife by a genealogical link and the sons of the wife become children of the husband's lineage and sister's children of the wife's lineage.

The manner in which lineages split up was well described to me by a Dok man. Members of a lineage give birth to children and they become numerous and spread over the countryside, wandering here and there and everywhere (*cike dak piny*). Then their close relationship (*mar*) ends (*ci mar thuk*). They go and live in the midst of other clans who are

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607 distantly related to them (*nike wëk ke yi kuïnu ahiow*). Here they dwell as friends (*wuou ngac kë ed*) and slowly forge new relationship by intermarriage (*ca wuor ruai a kuï*).

609 572 621 I believe that there is another Nuer word which means the same as *rul*, namely, *yiaw*. Thus one speaks of strangers living in the village of *dial* as *yiawkiew*, "their strangers dwelling in their midst." They are strangers because they have no hereditary status in the *wec* save through their mothers. Nevertheless *rul* and *yiaw* are objectionable terms by which to address strangers and would not be used without danger of strong words following. In speech they are assimilated to the dominant lineage and in this way the homogeneity and cohesion of the local group is asserted. One does not make a division between people who live with one, share one's cattle camp and village, help one in feuds, and quarter their herds in common pastures. Hence even if a man is a *rul* (or a *yiaw*) one does not make allusion to the fact in his presence. Still less does one make allusion to a man's Dinka or other non-Nuer parentage by calling him by the offensive term *jaang*. These strangers are accepted as equal members of the *wec*.

604 621 One of my informants, Jok, explained modes of Nuer aggregation very clearly. No *dil* (or *tut*) dwells in a social milieu entirely composed of fellow *dial* (*gaat tuut*), for the usual tendency is for *dial* to split up and for the segments to seek political autonomy on their own and found their own social conglomerate in which they will form the aristocratic nucleus. Hence a *wec* has its nucleus of *dial*, and around this nucleus are gathered a host of *rul*, who are often the husbands of daughters and sisters of *dial* who have not left the village of their fathers and brothers on their marriages but whose husbands have built their homesteads in their wives' localities. It is important to bear in mind that these girls cannot marry a *dil* or *tut* but are compelled by exogamous rules to marry into the classes of *rul* and *jaang*. Their children often grow up in the village of their maternal grandfather and his lineage are regarded as their kinsmen while their father's lineage are comparative strangers, and for this reason they tend to trace their descent through their mother rather than through their father and thus hitch on to the genealogical system of the *dial*.

604 619 Hence there is always a tendency towards fusion between two lineages who form part of the same tribal section. This is not simply due to the fact that there is often a real or mythological relationship between

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the ancestor of one lineage and the ancestress of the other (as with the JIKACA and the JIKAC), but is owing also to the fact that their two sections continue to intermarry all the way down their line of descent, since the marriage of a man of lineage A into lineage B does not prevent his cousin marrying into lineage B also. In course of time the two lineages become so intermarried that it is impossible for them to continue to intermarry without breaking exogamous rules. Thus I was told that the GAALIEK lineage (*dial*) and the JIKAC lineage (*rul*) in the Mor society of the Lou tribe had reached a stage when a GAALIEK man could no longer marry a JIKAC woman, though he might marry a descendant of a JIKAC woman two or three generations removed.

As we shall see later, captured Dinka are adopted into Nuer families, and as they have no cattle they necessarily depend for sustenance and marriage upon the family of their adoption. They forge descent through the men who have adopted them and their lineage becomes grafted on to the genealogical tree of descent of their foster fathers so that their children count for most purposes as *gaat tiet*. Often *rul* and *jaang* who are poor will come and live near a generous man of whom it is said " He is poor and has nothing because he has given everything away "—a great compliment. Such dependants will be provided with marriage-cattle by their patrons and they will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has befriended them, and here their children will be brought up as children of the *wec* and count almost as *gaat tiet* since they were born through the cattle of a *tiet*.

A lineage of *dial* split up as a result of internal dissension and also because a man of personality likes to found his own independent settlement where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives. This, Jok told me, is a reason why the *Nuer* are dissatisfied with the present arrangements made by the Government, which have as their object the creation of local " chiefs " whose position tends to become formalised, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of political power based on a territorial rather than personal basis which stabilises the control of a single man or lineage in a country where every *Nuer* carries his baton in his knapsack. It does not follow that a man must be a *dil* to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *bul* of some other lineage than the dominant lineage of his tribe who has been able to

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establish himself and his heir as the social leaders of the locality in which they live. Also I believe that the common view expressed by Europeans that the Nuer leopard-chiefs were once powerful political chiefs whose power has lately been undermined by Arab influence and the development of lines of influential prophets and that their power must be re-established is based on a one-sided appreciation of the facts (see section No. VII).

We have seen that two elements in a Nuer village are the *dial* nei and the *rol* nei. The third element in a Nuer village is the Dinka *jaang* nei and this falls into two types, captured Dinka and Dinka who have come to live among the Nuer of their own free will. Boys and girls captured in war—for adults are usually put to the spear, only very small boys and unmarried maidens being carried off to Nuerland—are brought up as children of their captor's household and treated as his own sons and daughters. Two of my informants, Jok and Tutrial, gave me a very clear summary of the position of a captured Dinka. Their captor in no way distinguishes them and his own sons and daughters, and neither he nor any of his family would refer to them as *Jaang* (Dinka), which is a term of deep contempt and insult. They do precisely no more and no less work than any other member of the household and are in no manner degraded or humiliated. In answer to my questions whether a captured Dinka would not be expected to do more hoeing or tending of the cattle than children of the family, my informant's reply was decisively clear "You ask me whether he would not work harder than the sons, well, is he not a son?"

When I asked Tutrial whether you would not address your captive as "Jaang," he replied with some impatience at my denseness "Are you likely to do such a thing? Now listen, be quiet and I will tell you." When you marry a woman with cattle and sleep in the same hut with her does anyone come and ask you why you sleep so late in the day? Now when you go out to capture a Dinka your foot is pierced by thorns—you have got to be stalwart for that; you are ravished by hunger—you have got to be stalwart for that; you have spears thrown at you—you have got to be stalwart for that too; now I ask you when you have got your Dinka are you likely to call him a *Jaang*? Did you not win him because you were strong?"

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Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *dawar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a Jaang? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwandan* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B.

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (*ca kuth buthei*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwandan*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthei ku ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

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563 is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka "brother"
577 each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On
727 all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he
will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship
[491] (*see* Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being
given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family,
he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of
division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now
regard himself as a "member of the clan" of his "father." *Cas juak*
tow, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

563 We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka
597 who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor
727 as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace
641 their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which
mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in
a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer
origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is
to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock
of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who
was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a
member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his
grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage
and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A,
son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his
genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally
imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded
separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of
which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact
Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone
tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks
will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland.
Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their
grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very
unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but
the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's
ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability
will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

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Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *kath buthni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages.

This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and give her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.[1] Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion.

[1] I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a shirt (*yol*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(To be continued.)